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The control relationship between higher education policies and black politics.

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THE CONTROL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HIGHER EDUCATION POLICIES
AND BLACK POLITICS

A Dissertation Presented

By

Coby Vernon Smith

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

May, 1974

Major Subject: Education

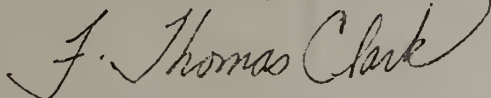
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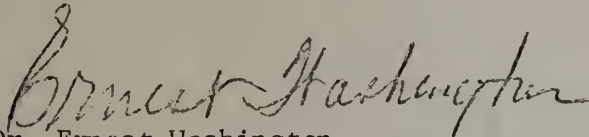
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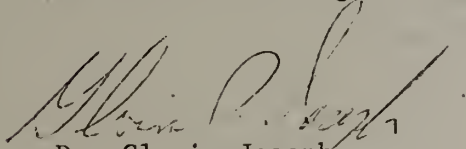
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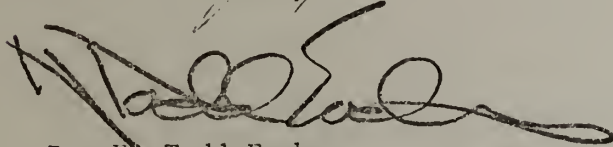
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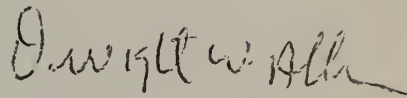
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ABSTRACT

The Control Relationship Between Higher Education Policy and Black Politics is a descriptive analysis of the manipulations of politically inspired higher education policy in throttling the cohesiveness of the most significant political group in the United States from 1960 to 1973. It is a presentation of the subtle intrusion of educational policy upon group politics, pointing up the pattern of supposedly unrelated policy in diffusing the political intensity of racial politics in the United States. This analysis examines the broad policies and administrative practices used by both the predominantly white university systems and the traditionally black colleges which influence black community use of institutional education. It seek further to focus the nature of black higher education aspirations as political, exploring the politicization of black higher education populations.

Methodology

This descriptive analysis has developed from the collection of government and foundation statistics and various reports from the composite elements which control black higher education aspirations. Interrelationships of internal vs. external control, social conscience, interpersonal relationships, leadership styles, value orientation, student attrition, institutional dismantling, entrance requirements, Maciavellianism, and the evolution of curricular patterns are herein analyzed against stated policy goals from 1960 to 1973, and against the nation's political tenor over the same period.

Results

A pattern of conscious manipulation of political intensity among the most assertive element of the nation's black population has emerged along with a diminished role for black people at every level of the educational enterprise. The result is that political activity within the university has all but ceased under the pretext of having shifted to the decision-making process. Black people are no longer in touch with even the threatened dismantling of black colleges and have little structured political recourse to halting the process. Educational policy has dictated a new integrationist ethic to this country's black masses as the only legitimate political direction. The black political posture has, however, redefined particular educational control apparatus upon occasion and even used that apparatus to some advantage. Black colleges have been forbidden from areas of educational research and extension of services which has served to weaken the black community politically. Higher education itself continues to be elitist and racially exclusivist.

Control

Black people and other minorities must become increasingly assertive politically in order to prevent the loss of ground in an increasingly inflated society controlled by an increasingly small political elite. Black colleges represent the last remaining institutional possibility for educational and political autonomy from the racist controlled state and federal governments.

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

The current controversy in black higher education involves, to a great extent, the continued operation of that category of institution traditionally known as the Negro college. Its future is doubtful since the circumstance of its origin - segregation - is now unlawful. At its healthiest, the Negro college has suffered an anemic inferiority created by chronic under-financing and the overt hostility of America's social attitude toward its former African slaves. Segregationist legislatures appear content at the outright closing of those Negro colleges financed through public expenditures or at merging them into predominately white state universities. Integrationists would sacrifice black colleges in exchange for greater incorporation into 'mainstream' American higher education. Both critics and supporters readily acknowledge the lack of quality education in Negro colleges and insist upon improving the quality of that education at all costs.

The issue of integration has become a dominant theme in this controversy through the sizeable increase in black students in predominantly white colleges and universities since the late 1960's appears to be failing as a supportive argument for that position. There is growing concern over the availability of resources which support this new black presence. Black studies programs have continually raised questions about the universities' commitment to respond purposefully to the needs of black communities. In the white universities, questions regarding segregation and integration loom large as black students

cause reverberations on campuses with their demands for educational legitimacy rather than government policy rhetoric. Many of these demands infuriate both integrationists and segregationists. The students, even when their numbers are increased and the financial support for them is made more adequate, respond far less favorably to these two persuasions than to the themes of 'Black Power' and 'cultural nationalism', with a representative number of 'separatists', which now are hardly distinguishable when compared against the early 1970's. Their response is a political one which seeks no neutral turf. They are aware of the circumstances which account for their presence within the generally hostile university and readily confront its liberalism, conservatism, its segregation, and its integration.

From this point forward, the institutions traditionally known as the Negro colleges will be referred to as the Black colleges. The reader should note this shift not merely as popular convention but as a political victory by the black people who have sought to confront integrationist attempts at reducing the racial identifiability of black institutions as well as white racist attempts at reducing the desirability of them.

The political and social upheaval dramatized in the 60's by the urban riots, and the possibility of even greater turmoil, have served to provide rationale for more education for "so-called" minorities and greater control over that education. Based upon such rationale, referred to as "law and order", government has developed and sanctioned

educational programs which at best have only stemmed black restlessness. This paper will show how the federal government, state government, and foundations have exercised educational control through policy to extinguish any hope for the political and cultural liberation of African people. Thus, plotting the destruction of black colleges because of their educational potential, has the same net effect as closing off higher education to black people totally. Within white institutions, the nationalist urge from all appearances cannot be realized and black activity becomes caricature settling for issues unrelated to black liberation.

How such control operates is further from the central question of why the control operates. Yet, even if one approaches the how question first, each operational policy yields the temporal intent of the control.

Certainly it is important to search society for the roles of policy makers and agents. That educational control of black people does operate and why, forces a more personal analysis and introspection which yields the target of the control and the political postures which sometimes unknowingly force complicity.

The crux of the matter is that education is used in American society as a method of social control. It is perceived as a measure of progress for black people and, as a result, is purposefully manipulated through educational policy to politically, economically, and socially reduce the capacity of black people to discontinue that manipulation.

This paper will examine educational control and how it effects black people on the political level and on the personal level. It will expressly examine this control in relationship with the black middle class. It will further examine the alternatives to current social control through higher education, proposing a specific alternative.

As a more transitory objective, this paper seeks to explore the poor sense of historical development in us all, which contributes to the manipulation of people through educational control.

The history of black higher education is rich with conflict over the capacity of black people to cope with expansion of the mind. There is, in addition, considerable debate as to the mission of the special institutions created for that purpose. The Washington-DuBois debates are so well known for that reason. History, as recorded generally, has provided us with little of the accruelements of that episode. Some of the ingredients in black education which result from the compromise described by Bullock have greater impact upon our ability to control education as it is actively presented to us, young and old. There is no independent meaning in any of the particular actions taken by whites to insure that the Negro stayed or was kept in his place. The importance is summative in that it removed the options which free Africans would more than likely have exercised. We might further explore the real details of the compromise for some indication of how education became a tool for diminishing the influence

of blacks in American society. Adams vs. Richardson describes some of the activity being generated by black people who rightly see the threat to black education which the dismantling of public black colleges implies.

Mainly, the political tone among black people is missing, a failing which this paper seeks to avoid. There is, however, a good deal of significance in Booker T. Washington's emergence as the sole arbiter of black education while W. E. B. DuBois assumes a scholarly isolation which he still transformed into a platform from which to mount political thrusts. Washington's political direction was congruent with the control policy developed for black people by Northern industry and Southern agriculture and, as such, enjoyed the popular attention of the media and the general public both white and black.

This diluting of history forces black people into an association with black institutions which is transitory in nature - that is, its importance is projected as a necessary interlude between savage ignorance and proper integration into the status quo. That black educators and students should quibble over meaningless affectations of a system in which controlling whites pull the strings is as much the result of edited history as it is misplaced faith. The nickels which were placed in Sunday collections by poor blacks for black higher education instead of nutriment or frivolity have not served to sustain the mission which was considered worthy of that great sacrifice.

And my own education serves as further purpose for this paper. Throughout those segregated years, older folk insisted that breaking racial barriers would provide greater opportunity. When I grew up to integrate a college in Memphis, it became a manifestation of victory for half a million black people within close proximity. They would say, "Mr. so and so's boy goes to that school and you know they plan for him to be a senator. You'll surely be powerful too." When I was asked about my experiences, no one expected me to be any less assertive than the community which saw in me a political victory. Their incantations were "Now, you do something with all that education." It was only when I could not explain my failure that they understood what they had encouraged me to endure. It was no different from the agony and humiliation which they faced daily. I was selected to endure the hostility of integration, not to give credence to the destruction of the black college sanctuaries which my brothers and sisters and friends attended.

The thing that strikes me most now is the haphazard way in which higher educational opportunity has been expanded. A pattern seemed to be developing which placed all expansion in integrated facilities. Certainly those facilities were by no right of justice ever excluded from us. But why were they always granted at the expense of black institutional development?

In response to this question I have created a model for both educational expansion and institutional development in one. It is a

model which grows out of my own educational experience and the reality of politics in the region which I know best. It is a positive educational alternative which lists the conditions for revitalizing black higher education into an instrument for the liberation of Third World people much like W. E. B. DuBois's description of the early Negro college in historical perspective.

"And so they did begin; they founded colleges and from the colleges shot normal schools, and out from the normal schools went teachers, and around the normal teachers clustered other teachers to teach the public schools; the colleges trained in Greek and Latin and Mathematics, 2,000 men; and these men trained full 50,000 others in morals and manners, and they in turn taught thrift and the alphabet to nine millions of men, who today hold \$300,000,000 of property. It was a miracle - the most wonderful peace-battle of the 19th century, and yet today men smile at it, and in fine superiority tell us that it was all a strange mistake." 1

The paper's concentration on the black college and the possibility for real change therein demands the self-actualizing empowerment of the people through non-traditional political action. "Black people generally, and Black students and professionals specifically, should not have the leisure or inclination to be passive participants around revitalization processes,"² because, "there is no perceptible evidence that there will be voluntary adjustments of social controls over the

¹Washington, Booker T., and W. E. B. DuBois, The Negro Problem, New York, James Potts, 1963.

²Thomas, Charles V., "Something Borrowed, Something Black," in The Counseling Psychologist, September, 1972, p. 22.

the abuse of social processes or power arrangements."³ The paper is an attempt at counteracting the use of educational control toward the miseducation of black people and at developing a working forum for the possibility of black control over educational institutions. It is also the product of my later experiences as a teacher and as an administrator of one of the prototype "special programs" for "disadvantaged" students. It is primarily that experience which forced comparisons between what happened to me personally and what has and is happening to the black students in higher education today.

This brings us to the problem to be analyzed in this manuscript: the relationship between educational control and the political posture of black people. If it is logical as Henry Allen Bullock points out, "that northern industrialists like Andrew Carnegie, John D. Rockefeller, and railway magnate William Baldwin reinforced Booker T. Washington's position in favor of special industrial education in order to secure their interest in special education,"⁴ then it should logically follow that current educational directions must be analyzed to answer the who, how, and why questions immersed in modern day educational control. Further analysis will reveal the relationship between educational control apparatus and the choices made by black mass aspirations in support of or in reaction to them.

³Loc. cit.

⁴Hackshaw, James O. F., "The Case for a Black University: A Political Viewpoint," N.Y.U. Education Quarterly, Summer, 1972, p. 14.

James Hackshaw points out that the political results forced in black colleges through the inequitable distribution of assets have been most evident in research and extension,⁵ two vital areas for aligning educational resources with the educational needs of the people served. He continues, "this has served as a mechanism for political control of black institutions be determining limits for research."⁶

An area of political control already mentioned historically is the denial of admissions to blacks. Though the most obvious, this form of control is suggested as an ongoing policy addendum by Samuel Yette who quotes the policy from a speech made by Vice President Spiro Agnew, demanding that "higher education be reserved for a natural intellectual elite."⁷

Still another strategy for political control is the denial of access to decision-making positions which may be the main ingredient in camouflaging the use of educational policy to politically contain black people. This analysis will expose the subjective nature of black higher education.

⁵Loc. cit.

⁶Ibid., p. 16.

⁷Yette, Samuel, The Choice: Black Survival in America, New York, 1971, p. 202.

For this reason, documentation for this paper will include historical documents, recent occurrences, articles from newspapers and magazines, and policy statements from educational bulletins and circular letters. It will contain selected examples of diverse situations, rather than trying to respond to each incidence of control. The specific roles of government, federal and state, the foundations, and controlling religious denominations are as a result not exhaustively accounted. This paper will incorporate the foregoing into a descriptive analysis of the political role which education is playing in the control and limitation of African people. It seeks to inform black people of consequences of failing to respond politically to the closing of black colleges and the acceptance of political invisibility in the isolated white controlled university. It warns against accommodation with control policy and begs alternatives with clearer payoff for oppressed people.

CHAPTER I

C H A P T E R I
HISTORY OF BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION
IN THE UNITED STATES

The institutional role of education in a society is to transmit the social values of one generation to another. Education bears the major responsibility for the smooth and even simultaneous operation of the other major social institutions such as economics, religion, and politics. It must inculcate the values of the society into each individual. The values of that society are its foundation, and only when they are strong, can that society exist.

Undoubtedly, there is overlap in the roles of social institutions. Economics, as a social institution, often dictates the values transmitted through education. Politics as a social institution may, in fact, operate to secure the benefits of one institution through another. Institutional education in the American context has conformed with the specific needs of its partner societal institutions. The separation of church and state, for example, is an instance where the former European colonists established a social value which education as a social institution has faithfully transmitted, despite the tradition of Catholics in Europe, if not that of native Americans (Indians) on their own land. 'Private enterprise' and 'protestant ethics' are additional examples. Such values were the foundations in the transformation of the United States of America from colony to world power. Values transmitted from one generation to the next have operated in accordance with the

need for economic development and political expansion. There were other values, identifiable through words like 'democracy', 'freedom', and 'slavery'.

Slavery, in fact, describes more than the condition of the African in America historically; it describes the values transmitted to successive generations of Americans in cooperation with the other universal societal institutions. Among other things, those values permitted the enslavement of African people. And slavery was an American societal institution. "The Afro-American was and is educated to serve that society as a subordinate without human benefit or dignity."¹ Thus, the role of institutional education has been specific for black people in the United States in that it has transmitted a unique set of values which define the existence of black people institutionally. The consummate socialization of black people has been toward servitude and inferiority. The effect of that socialization or education is most often identified in the forced failures and assumed pathology of black people but may also be addressed in terms that have more of a political and economic flavor. That is, the African was set apart almost at once and excluded from the general population of persons to be admitted to the

¹Johnson, Edwina C., "An Alternative to Miseducation for the Afro-American People," in What Black Educators Are Saying, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (New York, 1970), p. 199.

educational program for whites. It is important to understand that there have always been educational programs for black people.

The characteristics of the education directed toward black people may be described, in historical perspective, chronologically accounting major events and developments. It may also be described in terms which collect these major events and developments into periods where long range intentions and effects expose educational policy. And in the case of a set of policy which seeks to limit the self-development of a people rather than to expand it, that policy legally instituted becomes policy for the control of these people. It is not necessarily such an astonishing revelation; virtually all educators, policy-makers, and social planners would admit that at least segments of any populations and even entire populations should be regulated through whatever the accepted set of social values are. Few would acknowledge any purposeful manipulation of those values through our social institutions. It should become clear, however, that educational policy via the black experience in America has been specific in controlling black people for economic and political reasons.

For the purpose of establishing a backdrop of policy control, an article from What Black Educators Are Saying, entitled "An Alternative to Miseducation for the Afro-American People" and written by Edwina C. Johnson, fashions an ontological schematic which supports the differentiation of black education in this country into three periods or phases.

The 1600's are characterized as the period which legally defined throughout the colonies the limitation of status for "slaves" and the exclusion of Africans from the "general population of persons to be admitted to the educational program for whites." Immediately we see the relationship between educational control and the political-social status of a people. Discussing directly from Ms. Johnson, note the progression of the "African from indentured servants, then perpetual enslaved persons, to enslaved persons by law." These dates are associated with this progression:

1640 - Perpetual servitude in Virginia.

1662 - System of enslavement established by law in Virginia.

1664 - System of enslavement established by law in Maryland.

1673 - System of enslavement established by law in Carolina.

1684 - System of enslavement established by law in New York.²

Strict separate social codes for the blacks were developed throughout the colonies to reinforce the subordinated status.³ These codes became the vehicle for control of the African in the United States. Broad policy was administered through them which bolstered European control in the New World. There would, in effect, be no direct cultural competition from Africa and Asia. When Ms. Johnson writes, "The African was forbidden to speak his own language, to practice his own religion, he was, in effect, de-Africanized during the early

²Ibid., pp. 199-200.

³Loc. cit.

colonial period.", she identifies not only a crude invasion upon the African and Native American cultures but she identified that part of the African culture which would necessarily be attacked. She then further describes the meaning of that control policy:

"Learning for the African, then, was to lose his identity as an African, give up his African institutions, even his name. Learning to memorize some bible passages was permitted for sake of "saving his soul." His learning was in the field, in the enslaved persons quarter, where he adjusted⁴ or died in the state of servitude to whites."

One readily gleans a definition for 'learning; that resembles nothing the educational policy makers of today, even the most conservative, would endorse as their own. Later comparison should indicate whether fundamental change in the definition for black education has occurred since that time. It should reveal that the definition for learning was conclusively described through law and custom as are HEW regulations which stipulate guidelines for integration.

The location for this 'learning' becomes, then, as meaningful as the severity of the alternatives. No mention is made of 'home' because the slave could not be taught the concept of property through any other perspective but that of the slave owner. 'Family' was also summarily excluded from the slave's frame of reference except above the law or in association with the slave holder. There was,

⁴ Ibid., p. 200.

by these facts, a legal and purposeful education forced upon Africans in slavery.

Ms. Johnson reveals to us the thoroughness of educational control when she uses a quote from Benjamin Quarles which describes the education of the Afro-American during the 1800's.

"The lot of the typical slave, regardless of locale or occupation, was influenced in large measure by the psychological and legal controls brought to bear on him."⁵

This description easily melds with Kozol's picture of today's school as "an agency of social control." Skolnick and Currie enlarge the description by writing, "In practice this means the punitive indoctrination of large numbers of students, especially those from minority groups, into their 'place' in society."⁶

The constant in such social control is the values to which children are supposed to submit. Obedience, rigidity, and other character traits which render children controllable intellectually and socially are the emphasis of these values. And terms like 'culturally deprived' which measure the distance between minority children and the values set forth in guides for character education⁷ season policy rhetoric.

⁵ Ibid., p. 200.

⁶ Crisis in American Institutions, ed. Jerome H. Skolnick and Elliott Currie, p. 216.

⁷ Loc. cit.

The exponents of progressive education and in particular, interdisciplinary educators often fail to fathom effective education over short periods of time. Whether they fail to see control as synonymous with effectiveness or whether they themselves exist as the unwitting pawns of those who manipulate the control, the fact remains that the pervasive nature of the education used against black people covers the full range of life activities from the psychological to legal. There is nothing incidental in so complex a scheme. Its design seems quite immature, not to mention inhuman. A purposeful attempt was made to mold the African into a mindless and obedient possession responsive to the concept of white divine right from God and limited to a role of service not unlike mere chattel. Beatings, murder, lynchings, curfews, and the psychological brutality of supposed religious instructions were the policy appendages which pervaded the lives of all black people, enslaved or free. It is testimony to the confinement of control to strict, unachievable values and utilizes constant oppression as its modus operandi.

The extent of the control which now confines black people can more readily be traced by the general issues most often articulated when black people talk about education. A logical progression of those issues stated in the "we're trying to affect" form would be: 1) racism in the society, 2) racism in the school system, 3) providing quality education, and 4) bringing about institutional change. This position stated by Lisle Carter is that, "you cannot solve some

of these problems dealing with race without solving some of the basic institutional problems that involve education."⁸ What remains is some definition of how these issues overlap in operation.

Seldom do we know the actual terms of our engagement through educational control apparatus (the schools, research institutes, government agencies, etc.). A check might permit confrontation at the policy level as opposed to temporal engagement which might well concede to change without invalidating the controlling policy.

It is true that actual policy could be difficult to identify within the maze of coincidental policy. It is also true that such policy could be rendered inaccessible by judicial predecision. Nonetheless, identification of control policy could prove to be the proverbial straw that broke the camel's back.

The history of education for the Afro-American can be divided into three policy periods: pre-emancipation, early post-emancipation, and the present policy period.

The policy for the education of the African during the pre-emancipation period has already been stated as "de-Africanization." It prohibited the transmission and acquisition of any imperative other than the acceptance of slavery, even language. Pre-emancipation policy

⁸ Howe, Clark, Allen, et al, Racism and American Education, Harper & Row, New York, 1970, ed. Kenneth B. Clark, p. 96.

was operated through the institution of slavery, its plantations, its churches, and its courts. It could well be described as the only thing the African was given free of charge in America. Financial backing for it came largely from missionaries who functioned as intermediaries for slave owners, planters, and what capitalists and textile manufacturers as existed. Thomas Jefferson, among other leading intellectuals of the day, responded to the policy with research confirming the subhuman nature of blacks as rationale for slavery.⁹

The historical analysis of educational policy does not purport to resolve whether policy precedes institution. It does, however, reveal the contextual relationship between educational policy, the institutions which transport that policy, the economic conditions which qualify the career choices inherent in that policy, and the political reactions of the people affected by that policy.

The post-emancipation period extended the policy of de-Africanization to a more political definition of the post-slave. In this redefinition of the African, new considerations had to be made for his changed legal status. Africans were no longer slaves through Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863, and with the passage of the Fourteenth Amendment were even defined citizens of the United

⁹Op. cit., Johnson, p. 203.

States.¹⁰ However, the meaning of these landmarks was interpreted differently among black people than among whites. The arm of the law, commencing with the Freedman's Bureau in 1865, carried to the black man the promise of forty acres and a mule, while the black codes of Mississippi, Louisiana, etc., promised to the conquered South the virtual reinstitution of slavery. Post-emancipation policy sought a linguistic balance between both versions of the law, recognizing the extension of the franchise to freedmen while affirming the predominance of whites over the former black slaves.

In sum, the policy of the post-emancipation period was to miseducate the "colored man" toward what constituted an acceptance of unequal citizenship. It promised redemption from slavery, but applied instead the concepts of gradual integration of the African into white American society and legal segregation as an interim step during which the ex-slave could reduce his African-ness. The traditional Negro college was established to carry out this policy and its operation was tailored by white philanthropy from industrial power and religious denominations, the federal government and the reunited southern state governments.

The present educational policy period has de-emphasized black institutional autonomy by further integrating black people into the formerly all white institutions in an attempt to moderate black

¹⁰Documents of American History, ed. by Henry Steele Commager, 7th edition, (New York, 1962), p. 501.

political initiative. Having succeeded under the post-emancipation period with handicapping black people economically, this new policy demands an equality based on the standardization of institutions and an unfulfilled commitment for opportunity based on individual merit. Present policy, then, has assumed as its objective yet another re-definition of black existence which reduces the collective identification of black people politically. Once black people no longer attend the racially defined schools, the policy implies, there should be a considerable reduction in the political identifiability of black interest. The scene for black development, consequently, shifts from the now declining black colleges to the predominantly white major university systems in which black access can be limited, based on scholastic achievement to the junior college level.

The following illustrations reach through each policy period to convey the interfacing effect of each policy as it moves from the policy-maker to the people.

ILLUSTRATION I

Pre-Emancipation

Policy:	Prohibit acquisition or transmission of education, & thus dissemination of any imperative other than acceptance of slavery (even language).
Institutions:	Slavery, plantation, church.
Funding Source:	Capitalists, planters, textile manufacturers, slave runners.

Research:	Rationale for slavery; blacks as less than human.
Methodology:	Opression - physical and cultural.
Careers:	Slaves, agricultural laborers.
Political Action of Africans in Captivity:	Rebellion, alliance with abolitionists, running away.
Political Reaction of Africans in Captivity:	Same (no record of black who chose to be slave forever.
Compromise:	Acceptance of rationales, language, religion.
Use of Data:	Reconstruct personality modeled on white supremacy; rationale for slavery.*

*There are important correlations between some of the listings. Note that research and the use of data both read 'rationale for slavery'. In operation, the research of the period was devoted in large part to proving that slavery was just for the white master whose authority derived from God and for the sub human African savage. Once notables like Thomas Jefferson got into the act, that research was used through every other social institution to shape the relationship between whites and blacks.

ILLUSTRATION II

Post-Emancipation

Policy:	Black miseducation (definition of 'post-slave').
Institutions:	Black college (traditional Negro college).
Funding Source:	White philanthropy, corporate power, government, (state and federal), religious denominations.
Research:	Being researched - predominance of whites.
Methodology:	Brainwashing, intimidation.
Careers:	Spokesmen (moral leaders - ministers, teachers, farmers).

Political Action of Afro-Americans:	Periodic rebellion, concessionism, nationalism, separatism.
Political Reaction:	1) from whites: political repression by withdrawal of the franchise, individual concessions based on individual support; 2) from blacks: political acceptance of 'integration' as temporary definition.*
Compromise:	Rights (political, economic) for "separate-but- equal" participation in American society.
Use of Data:	To depict black existence as caricature of superior white culture.

*Certainly integration was only accepted as a political definition. There has been no polling of black masses on this matter. Even support for leaders who were integrationists, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., or Roy Wilkins, or Whitney Young, Jr., could be constricted to mean mass support for integration alone, and not jobs, or access to public facilities.

ILLUSTRATION III

Present

Policy:	Make education uniform or standardized.
Institutions:	Two year community colleges, declining black colleges, predominantly white major colleges and universities.
Funding Source:	Grants (state, federal), foundations, white philanthropy (declining), religious denominations (declining).
Research:	Cultural deprivation.
Methodology:	Benign neglect (marginal entry into other social institutions).
Careers:	Para-professionals.
Political Action:	Thrusts toward black educational control, similar thrust in every social institution, creation of black ethic.

Political Reaction: Polarization into white defined political camps - integration, segregation.

Compromise: Insufficient data.

Use of Data: Continued manipulation of black people through evidence of black inferiority.

C H A P T E R I I

CHAPTER II

CURRENT CONTROVERSY IN BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION

There are three major issues involved in an analysis of the current higher education situation confronted by black people. These issues are 1) access of minority group members to post-secondary programs, 2) service to those who are granted access, and 3) the establishment of institutional control over this access and service. Integration is not a true issue at all, even though it is brought most often to our attention because it is sensational and because it deters serious evaluation of the stated major issues. There can be no question that the existence of white and black institutions within the confines of one national designation represents the peculiar social relationships between white and black people in the United States. They are the reflection of American social life, its reality and its strategy.

Black people should control the educational direction of the black institutions which presently exist as well as having some real control over the direction of formerly segregated white institutions which admit and serve black people only in limited ways. The existence of black colleges and universities is presently the only measure of educational control by black people, meager as it is. The relative percentage of white students in them is secondary to the basis on which that service is provided. Sizeable white enrollment threatens the possibility of black control by altering the particular service mission of the black colleges and denies access to higher education for black students. The

scientific principle which establishes that no two particles of matter can occupy the same space at the same time is applicable here.

The closing of black institutions, a redefinition of mission and an eventual white takeover have no legitimacy as long as the inability of black people to overcome the restrictive weight of white exploitation and black disadvantage continue. In simpler terms, any reduction in black influence over educational policies or participation in the formulation of such policies typifies an equivalent black political influence and level of political participation.

Samuel Yette, in The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America, suggests an overview of the strategies which explains the rationale for black education in the United States through an epigram in which Booker T. Washington warned, "You can't keep a man in a ditch without staying down there with him." His conclusion is that, the "separate but equal" doctrine was acceptable to controlling whites because they felt that they could defeat the truism of Dr. Washington with one or two strategies:

"-First, instead of staying at the ditch - that is, the black school - whites would go off to run great universities and eventually to the moon and appoint, instead, a black man to guard the ditch for them. This substitute guardian system worked effectively in many instances and over long periods of time, but it also failed just often enough for black campus sanctuaries to develop.

-The second scheme was simply to starve the black schools financially and in all ways related to resources; then, even if the substitute guardian fell asleep, turned his head, or attempted to help his black brothers, he would lack the resources necessary to give that help. This scheme of denial also failed in ways imperceptible to the white controllers." 1

Clearly, black education as it developed under the era of military guardianship and the Freedman's Bureau during Radical Reconstruction; the denominational boards instrumental to its development during the period of missionary zeal; legislative control by states through "separate but equal" land grants; and the foundations, has evolved in accord with these strategies of substitute guardianship and resource denial.

The successes and failures in black education and the early conflict most dramatically enacted in the Washington-DuBois dialogue can be put in ready perspective against these schemes. The battle line for the debate was each combatant's political response to the educational schemes developed by whites. No matter which argument emerges as the most persuasive, black educational aspirations had to contend with the schemes already cited.

Viewed in still another way, black colleges face abolishment at the moment when introspection has forced them to realign their

¹Samuel Yette, The Choice: Black Survival in America, New York, 1971, p. 201.

programs so that black communities, especially black students, see clear relevance in them. New themes and more assertive individuals have been gaining prominence in the black colleges. The tone of emerging leadership at all levels of activity in the black colleges is increasingly reflective of black mass political activity. Consequently, prominent black educators now identify the coming demise of political alternatives as readily as so-called 'disruptive militants' did a few years ago.

Samuel Yette has been most direct in stating that the Negro 'caretaker' of black colleges can no longer be trusted by whites to continue restricting black aspirations. It follows, then, that the threatened closing of black colleges is one response to the growing assertiveness of the black masses.

Dr. B. L. Perry, president of Florida A & M University, fits the above description by airing recently a suspicion that the newly-announced Florida desegregation plan could lead to the phasing out of that predominantly Black institution.

In describing the substitute guardian system of education in the black college, Yette issues a poignant warning to those who believe that the few campus sanctuaries which have developed can continue in this new period of social control through education. Any strategy intent upon preserving these sanctuaries independently is doomed to failure, and further testifies to the political immaturity of any oppressed people who would seek the status quo. By 'independently',

I mean that the sanctuaries could not survive independent of the purposeful organization of black people around all of them (black colleges) collectively. In addition, the evolution of black strategies (or probably more accurately, reactions to those previously stated schemes for black education and white domination) which constantly operated in the interest of black survival has a counter-effect upon institutional black education, as further illustrated by Yette:

"Both schemes failed often enough to produce, for example, Thurgood Marshall and his colleagues who revived the constitutional fights which culminated in the Brown decision of May 17, 1954 - a reversal of the Plessy decision of 1896. In the meantime, black schools also produced the Freedom Riders, the Sit-Inners, Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, 2 ..."

The failure of these schemes provides us with a simple yet pervasive articulation of the aspirations of an oppressed people. It is the result, Yette continues, of "black men and women who are determined to see that black people are not illiterate, enslaved, or prematurely dead - except in the cause of freedom and justice for themselves and their people."³ That scheme after scheme was defeated reflects that self-determination is central to the historical development of black people. It is and has always been the phenomena

²Ibid., p. 202.

³Ibid., p. 202.

of black survival. Those struggling for liberation have often come to understand that a liberating pedagogy could only exist in some tangential or camouflaged manner. They are forced to see their own development as survival "in spite of" institutional education and not because of it. The impact of their struggle is that it exposes to anxious black eyes the contradiction between their own educational and social needs and aspirations and those of the institution.

No sooner was this phenomena observed than was it assaulted by the full weight of national power. To paraphrase Paulo Freire, to the dominant elite, organization meant organizing themselves.

We now find ourselves less aware of our own survival because of the savage repression exerted against our will. New concessions disguised as our own instinct to survive push us closer to internal compromise. A concession is a concession and self-determination conceded is slavery.

In recent years, the most controversial reporting on affairs in black higher education has been the reporting of the closing and threatened closing of black colleges. These occurrences have of late become commonplace enough to indicate a trend. Jet magazine carried this story in its July 5, 1973, issue:

MONEY SHORTAGE MAY FORCE ALLEN UNIVERSITY TO CLOSE

Often-repeated claims that a shortage of money would eventually lead to the closing of predominantly-Black colleges and universities in the South came a step closer to reality recently when it was learned that

Allen University in Columbia, S. C., is on the verge of bankruptcy.

"A letter was sent out from the board (of trustees) that terminated all faculty and staff contracts saying they'd be renegotiated at a later date," George Traylor, administrative dean at Allen, told JET. "But none of the contracts have been renewed yet."

In other words, Traylor said, Allen University has not had a faculty since April 12, when the termination notices were sent to faculty and staff.

The situation grew worse when James W. Hairston resigned as president of the 103-year-old institution amid charges that his administration was guilty of financial mismanagement. Since he left the school on May 31, Hairston has not been available for comment.

During Allen's commencement exercises last month, a group of sign-bearing students demonstrated against the university's board members, questioning them about the present and future conditions of the school.

4

The case of Allen University represents an extreme in the relative health of black institutions. However, its situation might well be juxtaposed with an inordinately large number of black colleges, at a time when higher education is still growing in the United States. To date, scores of black institutions have closed as suddenly as they have sprung up and in most cases, the reasons for these failures can be

⁴Jet Magazine, "Money Shortage May Force Allen University To Close," July 5, 1973, p. 23.

explained in a fashion identical to that of the preceding article.⁵

The history of black colleges will be examined later in this manuscript.

The fact is that an institution which has so long survived now faces an end which may forecast the closing chapter on institutional autonomy for black people in education.

A subsequent issue of Jet carried a similar report regarding the closing of a far younger but in many ways more important institution:

NORTH CAROLINA'S MALCOLM X UNIVERSITY CLOSES IT DOORS

Malcolm X Liberation University, the outgrowth of student protests at Duke University in 1969 over a lack of Black studies programs, has announced its closing due to lack of money and "the over-emphasis on Africa."

The expressed goal of the school, an experiment in Pan-Africanist and Black separatist education, in 1969 was to train Blacks as leaders of a new nation in Africa.

However, in a statement announcing the closing, its founder-director Owusu Sadaukai (Howard Fuller) said the university's "major weakness ... in the area of theory (was) the over-emphasis on Africa as a major determinant in the future welfare of the masses of Black working people in this country.

"This error led to a second weakness which was in our practice. This showed itself in our tendency toward isolation from the local Black community and, consequently, our loss of contact with the masses of the people," he said.

But beyond this, there were financial problems for the school located in Greensboro, N. C. After the

⁵ See Appendix.

first year, Sadaukai had to trim his budget from \$500,000 to \$82,000 due to lack of funds.

The university was funded initially by a \$45,000 grant from the Episcopal Church, but a protest from the North Carolina Episcopalians blocked additional support. Angered by the grant, more than one-third of the 138 parishes in the North Carolina Episcopal Diocese failed to meet their financial quotas for the new year. 6

These two institutional closings are remarkably similar to the closing of all but one predominantly black law schools in the South. The setting for their demise was when an accreditation committee of the American Bar Association came out in a very liberal voice stating that those schools should be closed down, that Negro lawyers should be trained in an integrated setting.⁷ Chris Edley summarized the relationship between that event and the current threat to black colleges by saying, "It was a great statement by liberals. This resulted in several states taking steps to close their Negro law schools. The accreditation committee has now, several years later, reversed itself and has made a special plea that additional resources be pushed into these schools because they're needed during an interim period."⁸

⁶Jet Magazine, "North Carolina's Malcolm X University Closes Its Doors," July 26, 1973, p. 28.

⁷Racism and American Education, Report for the President's Commission for the observance of Human Rights Year, ed. by Kenneth Clark and Elinor Gordon, Harper & Row, (New York, 1970), p. 84.

⁸Ibid., p. 84.

The controversy for Edley is in the use of that fine 'liberal' statement as ammunition by those who would use it in following through with the closing of black colleges over the next few years. And, further, it becomes complicated by the suggestion of an interim period after which the closing of black colleges could still be accomplished but with diminished resistance.

This is the logical point to offer some background into the mire of circumstances which best reveal how the existence of black colleges is being threatened by integration. By no means is integration to be perceived as the political imperative of black people, but as the latest attempt to incarcerate black potential. It is integration which this country has offered its oppressed, meaning much the same as silent acceptance of past abuse. There is a pattern in the relationship between integration and black higher education.

Two sources which reveal the prevailing pattern of black higher education are a report from John Egerton's Race Relations Information Center, entitled "Black Public Colleges: Integration and Disintegration" and an article in Muhammed Speaks Newspaper entitled "Forced Integration May Phase Out 'Black Colleges.'"

The Egerton Report concerns itself with the nation's black public colleges and establishes a rapidly unfolding pattern of "racially separate and qualitatively unequal higher education."⁹ The Egerton position, like that of Chris Edley, blends easily into the general theme of integration, but serves to at least go on record the integration is being used as a stalking horse for threatened black higher education. It is Egerton who proclaims that "The Negro public colleges are in imminent danger of losing their identity through integration, merger, reduced status and outright abolition."¹⁰

Black public colleges are the product of an era which sought to fix the limits of a politically potent people in the South through legal segregation. "They were," says Egerton, "designed to be separate and proclaimed to be equal, but none of them ever has been provided with the resources or the support to achieve true parity with the colleges and universities created to serve whites."¹¹ With that era past and the political and economic limits for black people more rigidly fixed, the states have commenced a duplication of procedures for destroying these colleges similar to the duplication which installed these colleges as a deterrent to black development in the first place.

⁹Black Public Colleges: Integration and Disintegration, John Egerton, Race Relations Information Center, (Nashville, Tenn., June, 1971), p. 5.

¹⁰Loc. cit.

¹¹Loc. cit.

Egerton makes no mention of concern on the part of white interests over educational quality when he charges that:

"As long as the Negro public colleges remain black-led, black-populated institutions, it would appear from the record that white-dominated state governments and higher education systems do not intend to invest the resources in them to bring them to full equity." 12

This is certainly evidence that if there is a pattern in the occurrences cited, then its inspiration is political and not educational - blatantly racial. Lonnie Kashif, Washington editor for Muhammed Speaks, accepts this view in his description of the "dismantling of all 'racially segregated' state college systems under terms of the 1964 Civil Rights Act."¹³ His article makes reference to a statement by prominent educator, Dr. Herman Branson, suggesting that federal law for implementing integration would completely destroy the black college and mark the "beginning of an era of de-emphasis on higher education for Black Americans."¹⁴ Egerton also cites an unnamed high-ranking black educator who agrees that:

"There is a blueprint to get rid of the black institutions. We're not talking about integration but disintegration, not about merger but submerger, not about equity but inequity. If integration is going to mean that all of the

¹² Loc. cit.

¹³ Muhammed Speaks Newspaper, "Forced Integration May Phase Out 'Black' Colleges," Lonnie Kashif, May 4, 1973, p. 4.

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

black institutions must die, then white people
 shouldn't be surprised when more and more blacks
 say they don't want any part of it." 15

The blueprint alluded to took on firmer dimensions last February when a federal District Court enjoined the Department of Health, Education and Welfare to immediately enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Black colleges would now be considered in the eyes of the law, "segregated" institutions and thus, subject to the terms of the Act more purposefully than offending white institutions. The court decision implies that integration cannot be achieved until the "majority of the students attending Black colleges are non Black."¹⁶

Without having made an appreciable increase in the number of black and other minority students in a state's public colleges and universities, formerly all-white institutions now find their minority percentages more closely in line with HEW regulations without additional appropriation and without having honored the intent or spirit of the regulations. In fact, the South's public education dollar, once threatened for non-compliance with integration mandates has become increasingly earmarked for white students. In the fall of 1970, the University of Arkansas at its three campuses enrolled 326 Black students, or 2.7% of its 12,165 students. With the merger of Arkansas AM & N,

¹⁵Egerton, op. cit., p. 5.

¹⁶Kashif, op. cit., p. 4.

the system inherits an additional 2,955 black students, raising its total and substantially increasing its percentage. The State of Arkansas now finds itself with a percentage of black students in its main university which exceeds its black population state-wide. Figuring the 5,545 students enrolled in the Arkansas State University with 203 or 3.7% black students, begins to round down below parity between students enrolled and percent of the population. There are still other public institutions in the state which drag down the percentage.

The following is Yette's account of subsequent occurrences:

"What, then, became the new scheme of those still committed to black disadvantage and oppression? Their new scheme basically involved a re-evaluation of Dr. Washington's truism; they decided that the black educator had been right all along: to maintain control, the oppressor would have to return to the ditch, as it were. The new plan is either to extinguish or control black institutions which have become so instrumental in the black liberation struggle. The new schemes included:

- Wiping out of funds for compensatory education which have been helpful in establishing the Upward Bound programs under OEO and similar incentives for black students.
- Stringent new admissions requirements.
- Requirements secretly set in 1969-70 by HEW that would force black schools, even those maintained until recent years entirely without public support, to enroll white students up to 50% in order to get badly needed federal aid.
- The drastic raising of fees...coupled with the projected raising of entrance scores at both white and black colleges - a statistical reduction of black students.

- HEW's further requirement that black colleges hire white administrators to aid in the recruitment of white students.
- Grand merging schemes which place black schools under the domination of so-called "university systems" - a simple conversion to white control of what had been black institutions...
- The move, in 1970, by the Nixon administration to clear the way in court for the federal government to give tax exemption to white private and parochial schools, with a corresponding drop in public support for schools where black students are enrolled.
- ...to reduce black aspiration to the junior college or vocational school level." 17

Ironically, the deterioration of the black educational position has occurred through the acceptance of 'integration' as the primary goal by a significant portion of the black middle class. Once integration was established during the civil rights movement as a vehicle toward liberation, the attraction of jobs and better housing - a modest but overall improvement in the living conditions of too few black people - took on more meaning to ambitious middle class blacks than the political and spiritual victories which they symbolized. Lonnie Kashif writes:

"The fight for 'Integration' by American Black elites has now come almost full circle... The ominous consequences of the "integration thrust," lost in the euphoria of the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation decision, has now become an ugly reality for Black

¹⁷Yette, op. cit., pp. 201-205.

colleges and their students, as has been the case for secondary educational institutions now mired down in a complex web of miseducation, dope, crime, and stultifying apathy." 18

It boils down to an entrapment of middle class blacks through determined efforts by white institutions to resist the just and legal assertions of black people for their constitutional rights. Gradualism and tokenism have forced black people to become consumed with meeting qualifications and accepting 'progress' on the basis of personal sacrifice. To get ahead, then, many of the black middle class have tempered their identification with that of the black masses because of the individual needs which a reluctant society insists is requisite for equality. This shift in identification usually replaces the fact of racial discrimination with an emphasis on intelligence as the basis for economic success and serves to legitimize an authoritarian, hierarchial, stratified, and unequal economic system of production, which in turn, reconciles the individual to his or her objective position within this system. The black middle class is encouraged in this belief by the "strong association among all the economically desirable attributes -- social class, education, cognitive skills, occupational status, and income."¹⁹

¹⁸ Kashif, op. cit.

¹⁹ IQ In The U.S. Class Structure, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., July, 1972, p. 3.

The black middle class, unconsciously in many cases, accepts the argument that "social inequality" is the natural mechanism through which a society insures that its most important positions are filled by the most qualified people. It is a way of saying that the blame for poverty and social immobility - interpreted as indifference - among the masses of black people is rooted in the people themselves. They, as a class, are aware of their own personal sacrifices and successes and are comfortable with any social policy which would rely on individual cognitive achievement as "basis to the solution to problems of poverty and inequality."²⁰

Chris Edley sheds some light on the role which integration and its attendant issues have forced upon middle class blacks.

"It seems to me that the power structure has only responded to the excessive demands that have been made in the Negro community, and that there are certain Negroes who because they have little to lose, must demand things of the power structure which are excessive. And I think that if we - the Ken Clarks and the Chris Edleys and perhaps the Lisle Carters - have a role to play, it is to capitalize on the softening up process that results from the excessive demands." 21

This statement is revealing because it identifies his viewpoint against the "excessive demands" made by the black community. Of course, one must be certain that Chris Edley and probably many others of the black middle class find a major portion of their identity in the black

²⁰Loc. cit., p. 60.

²¹Clark and Gordon, op. cit., p. 71.

community. It is for that reason that the role which he describes for his moderation is at least positive as it concerns what he recognizes as community demands. Edley and some others who take this position may not assume it in blindness to the condition of black people, but rather, find themselves politically committed to creating a social policy based on the equalization of opportunity.

Gintis and Bowles acquaint us with the manner in which the flaws of such roles are concealed until they've come full circle:

"In fulfilling this commitment, liberal social policy has drawn on liberal social theory in three essential respects. First, it has harbored an abiding optimism, flowing from the theorists' separation of equality of opportunity and equality of outcome. The hierarchical division of labor could be maintained while the atavistic remains of bigotry and unequal social resources could be swept away via additional legislation and more effective propaganda. Second, the technocratic orientation of liberal theory indicated that the crucial policy variables were those related to differences in cognitive and psycho-motor performance-related skills--hence the emphasis on education and training. This, then, provided the focus of the reforms of the 60's. Third, the limits of social reform in this area, so the theory predicts, are dictated by genetic differences in ability."

22

Integration as social policy has taken this liberal course. The black middle class living in relative ease because they achieved what limited integration experiences which exist, are tied to its fulfillment even though it tended to become something quite different from what had been initially described. Still, the situation demands that they seek harmony with a disgruntled black mass.

²²Bowles and Gintis, op. cit., p. 58.

The black middle class has become more comfortable with the call for a redefinition of black values and goals which they first interpreted as an effort to do away with them rather than the class and skin differentiations which depict the status quo. This paranoia has led to an instinctive assertiveness which would misrepresent black interest to whites on the one hand and impede it on the other. The appendix reports a recent and possible significant landmark middle class inspired detente. The tone of such compromise may eventually sound more desperate and demeaning because acquiescence has its own cowardly bellow, whether in integration's name or some other.

The same note of compromise offered to the black middle class through its alledged integrationist ethic would require that some program be developed to end the anachronistic Negro colleges and white colleges as a repudiation of racism in institutional education and to promote quality education.

The suggestion of political antagonism between the black middle class and the black lower class is not the basis upon which a compromise would be reached. In fact, the preliminary findings in a study on class patterns in black politics by Charles V. Hamilton indicates that:

"Harlem's middle class cannot and does not see its political interests as antagonistic to the interests of the lower class, its primary clientele. Both classes rely heavily on the public sector for sustenance and development. Hence, both have the same interests in particular kinds of public policy outputs.

Thus, for example, in their National Medical Association resolutions, black middle-class doctors-unlike the white middle-class doctors of the American Medical Association-very early joined the lower class in support of Medicare. Black teachers have been pressing for community control of schools, unlike white teachers' organizations. And black lawyers have tended to support public policy outputs more consistent with black lower-class goals than has the American Bar Association." ²³

Hamilton's reasoning is that the black middle class depends upon resources allocated through the public sector as much as the lower class does. They have never been in the position of exploiting the black lower class.

The fact remains, however, that the direction of public policy in favor of integration may yet force the so-called black middle class into a position in which a compromise is reached regardless of past political unity.

Integration, it appears, is a diversionary ideal. That is, it satisfies those who want to work at it in spite of their knowledge that it will not be achieved, while in the meantime the real problems tend to go unanswered.

Students at black colleges were treated differently because they had no need to retreat into blackness but merely to bring it out of

²³"Class Patterns in Black Politics," Ebony Magazine, (August, 1973), p. 38.

retreat at their institutions. Though addressing the contribution of black colleges to black studies, Andrew Billingsley provides us with this background:

"The turn toward blackness in the black colleges is awakened by those same black students in the South and the North who, building on their heritage of protest, are making life so painful for certain administrators. The contributions of those black colleges to black studies will be different from that of the white colleges if they are authentic. They will be better allowed to develop organizationally and utilize the considerable talent among the faculty, student body, and the black community in the South." ²⁴

But by syphoning off increasingly political black students from black campuses where they might really effect change rather than having to cause it at white campuses in programs for the disadvantaged or experimental colleges and programs, American society staved off any real insistence upon change. If one throws in Kent State to prove that the government was prepared to move in on any student, it is not hard to reconstruct the end of illegitimate student activity. The end of the student movement has been marked at the Kent State murders. Its real end is the diverting of potential black activists to the isolation of white campuses. "The educational institutions were among the targets of this concerted action and these intensified demands.",²⁵ Andrew Billingsley reports for the purpose of establishing the importance of

²⁴ Andrew Billingsley, "The Black Presence in American Higher Education," in What Black Educators are Saying, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (New York, 1970), p. 137.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 140.

the motive with which he continues:

"They were perhaps more vehemently attacked than some other institutions in society, partly because educational institutions have been more intransigent than economic and political institutions, but chiefly because black people have come to view education as the major source of their achievement as a people." 26

The issue, aborted by quick government action and money in 1964 and again in 1968, was control over black survival. Educationally, that control is at the center of our miseducation - in the black college.

Consequently, when black students forced the issue of institutional control upon unwilling administrations, government and the white American public, the response was the discovery of the black college. And the new strategy became the dispersion of black concentrations in black institutions.

In the Arkansas example of this strategy, the merged institution was to be designated the University of Arkansas-Montecello. The merger was precipitated when Arkansas AM & N sought to gain accreditation for its forestry program, the only one in the state. The accreditation association had denied accreditation on the grounds that university status is required for such action.²⁷ No other account of the Arkansas merger available to the public at large, has made any such suggestion, but

²⁶ Loc. cit.

²⁷ National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, Office of the Executive Director, Washington, D. C., Circular Letter #13, June 8, 1971, p. 15.

rather disclose reports of fiscal mismanagement or the attempt of the Arkansas Board of Education to streamline the state's institutions through federal guidelines (HEW) for integration. The new strategy depends upon the phasing out of the traditionally black college through the integrative absorption into white dominated university systems and the merger of all black colleges in a holding operation.

The merger of black colleges into some new structural complex and the development of consortias is not at base a repressive concept. It could prove quite successful as a strategy for expansion. Most of the current conversation over mergers and consortias, however, grows out of government and foundation efforts to reduce the number of black institutions and thus reduce the possibility of a real educational philosophy which challenges the tenets of American education. Black colleges, regardless of their cognizance of the fact, are the only places in America, aside from churches and nightclubs, where young black minds can legitimately be expanded. In spite of the failures of those colleges to realize their responsibility to us as a people, they are the institutions which ofster the manhood rites over our young at the most crucial period of life in our society - ages seventeen to twenty-five.

Black colleges are a threat because the modd of this nation's black people has reduced the socializeability of young black people, just by having 200,000 of them together in isolation from the neutralizing influence of integrated jobs and social experiences. How unsettling, in nature, their questions must be! Black students might spur some new

movement, as widely adopted as the sit-ins which could achieve real educational control and ultimately black liberation. And can you imagine the threat which even a thousand black minds could impose?

The question of feasibility for consortias and merged black colleges has its historic answer in the Atlanta University complex which has existed since 1929. The most serious social consequences, however, lie in our ability to develop social institutions essential to our survival and to counteract the condition of black powerlessness, its accompanying tokenism and oppression. In other words, we must determine the basis for whatever structural arrangement positive black education demands.

Black college presidents have been meeting together for over forty years and have developed no basis for black educational control. Why? Because it is right under our noses and demands positive self-examination to see. We must force whites and their black henchment to give up control of black education and assume that control for ourselves.

Before one dismisses the possibility for black educational control of traditional Negro colleges, let's examine black population density in states where 105 campuses are located. When compared against the voting populations per state, we notice that five of the seventeen states have acknowledged black populations of over 25% and the rest are not far behind. ²⁸

²⁸Alex Poinsett, "Black Political Strategies for '72," Ebony Magazine, Volume XXVII, Number 4, (February, 1972), pp. 66-74.

In 1967 and 1968, students at black institutions throughout the south forcefully asserted their demands for relevance in education. Their protests were received quite differently from the protests of their brothers and sisters resident at predominantly white institutions and from white students as well. They were the victims of swift repression at Orangeburg and Texas Southern and at Fisk University.

"In the three and a half centuries of black oppression in America, education and training have been essential to the oppressor's ability to control, and the denial of them has been necessary to black people's inability to defend themselves even in nonviolent struggles. Thus, the black campus and the black students play a unique role in the current effort for survival. Those elements in the society still committed to black enslavement, illiteracy, or death are employing massive energy, planning, and political acumen toward pacification, neutralization, or destruction of the black colleges. The rationale is simple: Black colleges and black students of white colleges have become an effective instrument for the development of black liberation personnel and strategies. The black campuses, in particular, have become "sanctuaries" of black liberation. Thus, they had to be invaded just as the "sanctuaries" in Cambodia required what President Nixon termed a cleaning out." 29

They were handled differently than their black brothers and sisters at Cornell and Columbia and Harvard, though the rhetoric was much the same, because what they were demanding was control of black educational institutions, public and private - education for black people.

²⁹Yette, op. cit., p. 200.

Instead of control and institutional change, they were answered with opportunity for graduate study and marginal increases in black enrollment at white colleges and universities. In short, black students were offered a choice between individual security and extermination.

A February 27, 1972, article in the New York Times reported sporadic violence keyed off by the merger of Arkansas' all-black land-grant college with the predominantly white University of Arkansas on July 1, 1972.

"Blacks see in the merger of Arkansas Agricultural Mechanical and Normal College at Pine Bluff with the university a potential white take-over of the predominantly black institution and the loss of the only opportunity for poor and culturally deprived blacks to obtain a higher education in the state.

They foresee a white faculty and administration and admission standards, that will be forbidding to most blacks." 30

That merger has indeed become an accomplished fact, and it certainly indicated the Nixon administration's policy toward black colleges. However, the "1,000 of the college's 2,800 students [who] marched from the campus to the Pine Bluff Civic Center as 150 policemen in riot gear looked on," indicated the grave concern which black students and their communities have expressed about validity and as it was the very existence of the black college.³¹

³⁰"Arkansas Blacks Protest Merger," New York Times, February 27, 1972, Section II, p. 56.

³¹Loc. cit.

The struggle by black people in Arkansas should not be reduced to the petty question of integration vs. segregation. What is introduced for us is the very basis for education as a liberating pedagogy. It is clear that the 1,000 students, Dr. Lawrence A. Davis, the college's president, the alumni association, and the large black constituencies referred to in the Times article, represent the potential for educational control which black people historically, have so futilely sought in this country.

Black administrators and foundation officials should pay particular notice to the responses which black people have made to events like the Arkansas merger and the pending Louisiana, Florida, etc. Black people are well aware of what merger, white majorities, raised admission standards, and the like mean.

A point far removed from campus issues appears to underlie the reactions of police and government to students at black colleges, not only in respect to the treatment received by students but in respect to the treatment dealt the colleges.

This controversy has deeper and more diverse roots than the closings of Malcolm X University, and Allen University, and the court decision cited. It follows as well a pattern of reaction to black assertiveness which have made black campuses as likely a place for disruption as a ghetto police brutality scene.

Growing student unrest has contributed to the uncertainty which pervades black colleges. In the past dozen years there have been major disturbances in the form of violence, strikes, and boycotts at virtually every black college, usually predicated by the general worsening financial situation, increasing enrollment of white students that has changed some schools from predominantly black to predominantly white, the merger of black colleges with white university systems, and perhaps most important, the need for internal change reflecting the new awareness and orientation of black people. Students are demanding participation at least for themselves and their communities over institutional decisions. They have called for the removal of every vestige of oppression and control, including the presidents at such schools as Howard University, South Carolina State, and Southern University.

The phenomenal thing about these disruptions is that they have received popular support from the black community. The non-student black community has been virtually unanimous in decrying the vigorous assaults on black college students by local police and state government officials. It is not difficult to understand why, when one recalls the scene of killings by police of students at Orangeburg, South Carolina, in 1968, at Jackson State, and as late as December, 1972, at Southern University.

The institutions have responded by talking with students in order to avoid a crisis or by taking the hard line in accordance with

national policy.

Black college

administrators have, at times, been forced to plead with police for the safety of their campuses. Something of the pattern in policy used to respond to these demands is outlined in this passage:

"The response of the educational institutions has been varied. One very common response has been primarily to the form and language of the demands: finding these repugnant, they resist the legitimacy and urgency of the proposals. Another response has been acceptance of the proposals' legitimacy but rejection of their urgency. Even when the students' proposals have been perceived as legitimate, the pattern of response has been varied. Some universities have done nothing, but that response is rare. For all over the country, major and minor universities, colleges, junior colleges, and private and public lower schools, particularly those in urban areas in the North and West, have responded with positive action. Even when positive action has been taken, stimulated by the general students' demands, these responses are highly varied. One response pattern, for example, has been to do as little as possible in order to allay a threatened crisis or period of student unrest. A favorite act has been to hire one or a few black people in advisory positions, without authority. Black students at Berkeley call these "assistant niggerships." More meaningful acts have been stepped-up efforts to recruit more black students. Sometimes one new course on black history has been introduced.

One tendency which is the greatest danger has been for white university administrators and faculties to take over with token integration the development of black studies and fashion them in their own image, which is at best self-defeating and at worst a giant conspiracy to perpetuate white control over black people and the black experience in every area of life -- even in the black studies department.

This is a reassertion of colonialism in the guise
of innovation and responding to black demands." ³²

The years of student activism were high in the exertion of external influence on black colleges to either contain their students or to discontinue operations. The now threatened Tennessee State University at Nashville was forced by the State Legislature and the governor to expel or suspend any student jailed in an act of civil disobedience or involved in the organization of boycotts protesting discrimination. No black college, not even Howard University whose president had himself argued the key Washington, D. C., desegregation case, was free from some form of pressure. Many of those students expelled during those fateful years have never returned to complete their study. At private institutions, board members resigned or ceased to function and vital sources of funding dried up. Only when support for students from surrounding communities was so great or when the repression of them was so vicious as to arouse a community or the nation through mass media, was direct pressure turned off. One of the key references made by those who brought such pressure was the term "outside agitator" which was designed to justify any ruthless course of action taken. As a result of this description, however, a number of legislatures established ceiling for out-of-state students in public institutions. ³³

³²Billingsley, op. cit., p. 141.

³³"Survey Finds Most Universities Set No Resident Quotas," Higher Education and National Affairs, Volume XX, No. 27, (7/16/71), p. 7.

On the New York Times Op Ed page, David Eisenhower, making his journalistic debut, gives account of public boredom with revolutionary fantasy. His view of the student revolution is that it was doomed by radicals seeking self-gratification.³⁴ The Eisenhower view indicates far more than the personal opinion of a young writer -- it more closely demonstrates the attitude of the Nixon administration toward inquiring students in higher education. The following article about Leonard Garment, Nixon hatchetman, also indicates a general description of policy from the federal government.

"Less conspicuously, Garment has served the President by responding to blacks' criticisms of Administration policies, dealing with militant Indians - most recently in connection with Wounded Knee - and handling a multiplicity of civil right problems. Now he will have to deal more visibly with a wider range of thorny problems including Watergate. He is to be the White House liaison man with the Justice Department during the investigation." 35

There is no reason to be any less suspicious of Congressional educational planners than of Nixon administration planners.

Rhody McCoy succinctly presents a case for black educational control by saying, "...we've got to get more black students into college, and protect and keep those students who are in college. Because we haven't been able to change the requirements for jobs."³⁶ The future

³⁴Time Magazine, (May 14, 1973), p. 56.

³⁵"The Presidential Cleanup Crew," Time Magazine, (May 14, 1973), p. 31.

³⁶Rhody McCoy, "Why Have An Ocean Hill-Brownsville?," in What Black Educators Are Saying, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (New York, 1970), p. 260.

is not at all uncertain when he predicts the future of education for black youngsters if white control of education goes unchallenged. The school system in urban enclaves promise large black minorities. Yet curricular programs dictate that the proportion of black professionals decline to the point that the array of occupations from doctor to jailer emerge more overwhelmingly white than at present.

Educational control has a more consuming picture for black and minority students than the contemporary illusion of opening doors to opportunity. Once again, Bowles and Gintis identify the procedure.

"...by gradually 'cooling out' individuals at different educational levels, the student's aspirations are relatively painlessly brought into line with his probable occupational status. By the time most students terminate schooling they have validated for themselves their inability or unwillingness to be a success at the next highest level. Through competition, success, and defeat in the classroom, the individual is reconciled to his or her social position." 37

The full weight of that control is not merely applied to the individual student but to the full range of educational institutions which would serve blacks. "What the studies, North and South, revealed about blacks in education is their overwhelming sense of powerlessness," an expression not unsimilar to those of any policy period.

Dr. Andrew W. Donaldson, superintendent of District 7 in the Bronx, says in discussing this powerlessness, "You must remember that

³⁷ Bowles and Gintis, op. cit., p. 27.

the call in New York was for community control. What we got was decentralization that was designed not to work." Its three demonstration districts in Ocean Hill-Brownsville, I. S. 201 in Harlem, and Twin-Bridges on Manhattan's Lower East Side, were "effectively thwarted by the politically potent United Federation of Teachers and the near hysterical reporting of the media which viewed the project as a black power takeover."³⁸

This kind of control is easily recognized because it reveals the distinct spheres of influence which militate against black needs and for their own selfish ends. School boards blatantly disregard even the most polite request for adequate black representation, even in the large urban centers and the southern school districts which have black majorities.

"The current predicament can be said to be merely a reflection of the struggle for equality by blacks and other minorities in the society as a whole and the social ferment attendant to that struggle. Moreover, even as parents of elementary and secondary school students fight for control of the way in which their children will be educated, black colleges 39 face an uphill struggle for survival."

Having disallowed participation in educational and social policy, meaningful transfer of educational control is decried as radical. It is the above quote which quantifies the pervasiveness of educational

³⁸"A Crisis in Black and White," Black Enterprise, (September, 1972), p. 26.

³⁹Ibid., p. 26.

control. Powerlessness is a reasonable consequence when one can ill-afford concession at either the primary, secondary or higher education levels. What has become the watchword in primary and secondary education is 'integration' or some confused notion of 'quality' in education. And it is commitment to either of these watchwords which has been most destructive to black colleges.

In less than a decade, black colleges which have graduated virtually all black degree holders, presently enroll only 34% of all blacks enrolled in higher education.

"It is a way to suggest," says Dr. Elias Blake, Jr., president of the Institute for Service to Education, "a diminishing role for the colleges which have supported black aspirations for over 100 years."⁴⁰ It is not difficult to extrapolate the meaning of "a diminishing role" for black institutions, when there is overwhelmingly evidence of a diminishing role for the black teachers and principals all over the South who are as much the victims of integration (see appendix) as the black students in those white dominated systems.

Dr. Blake expands this perspective as he continues, "It is also associated with highly restrictive programs in the private sector that will benefit only a small number of these institutions which still produce a majority of the black graduates."⁴¹

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 26

⁴¹Ibid, p. 26.

The scope then of educational control extends from direct impact upon the institutions by the private sector, most often in terms of the corporate controlled economy, to manipulation of the life chances for black people involved at the student level or at the staff level. "The drift of all this," contends Blake, "would be to kill off the historical black colleges, thereby making all higher education of black youth dependent upon predominantly white institutions in which the problems of control and influence are enormous."⁴²

The role of the major foundations is becoming more and more one of discovery by their own description. Ford and Carnegie are leading the way with new black strategists who have gamely attempted to mold positive policy direction from the foundation platform only to find a diminishing constituency. The changes and recommendations which the foundations have formulated are, item for item, progressive enough, but with Ford and Carnegie dispensing their funds directly to institutions, the variety in black development is limited. Imagine how this writer felt when one of the foundations refused to support this research because its fellowships had all been dispersed.

The foundations appear to take the view that the mission of black colleges should be to service the 'underprivileged' and the 'under-educated.' While these conditions are indeed applicable to black

⁴²Ibid., p. 26.

people, they depict more a frame for greater intrusion upon black survival, than an extension of access to black people presently denied.

Clyde Ferguson takes that view when he says:

"...if you were defining the mission of this college, it is a mission which relates itself to the underprivileged, the uneducated class that has not been able to get out of the system what the middle and upper classes get out of it. With that particular mission you're going to deal with a lot of people who are not Negro, but who have problems of the same character. The college has a special mission, and we ought to realize that not every college is going to be performing the same mission that Harvard or Yale or Columbia performs in the society. There are other missions for colleges, and to be a pale, artificial imitation is to be a wasteful resource."⁴³

Notice how insignificant race becomes in not only the mission of black colleges but in the mission of Harvard, Yale, and Columbia as well. Because Ferguson accepts the egalitarian principles (or perhaps they are meritocratic as described by Bowles and Gintis - see appendix) he becomes consumed by modern liberal social policy rhetoric developed by the foundations. So it is probably with total innocence that he says that the mission of black colleges will address "...a lot of people who are not Negro." The fact remains that while black colleges lose their identity and mission, the identity and mission of the white higher education complex becomes increasingly white.

The language of traditional black college administrators is already predisposed to the eventual dominance of whites in their

⁴³Clark and Gordon, op. cit., p. 86.

student bodies. One can only speculate as to what he meant when McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, summarized his staff's explorations of the traditional black college during the past year as, "(having) found more strength and potential than our preliminary surveys suggested, so much so that we (Ford Foundation) have enlarged somewhat the number of institutions we had tentatively planned to assist."⁴⁴ If the indication in these years of thrift is that traditional black colleges will be used to meet national or regional educational needs, the question remains where the replaced black students will go.

Obviously, there are those who see what's coming and are trying to abate it and there are those who are working to provide themselves with as much individual security as possible. But for the most part, both groups view themselves as basically helpless.

Whenever the question of mission arises in connection with black colleges, this sequence is apt to follow: (Dialogue)

Clyde Ferguson: "...through its own resources, out of its own community, through its own mission, has staked out for itself a particular role. The criticism of the Negro colleges may be that they have, in too many instances, been pallid, unresourceful imitations of the white colleges. But there is a role and there is a mission, at this time in our society and for a long time to come, for this kind of a college, which has as its center the problem of the education, the transitional education that will go on for another two or three generations

⁴⁴"Foundation Expands Its Program of Aid to Black Colleges," Higher Education and National Affairs, American Council on Education, Volume XXI, Number 4, (November 3, 1972), p. 4.

of a group that has been excluded in the past. Consequently, I object to the notion of phasing out or doing away with Negro colleges; I'd much rather see a statement which would remind the existing institutions that they have a special mission relating to a particular group, and if they're not responsive to that particular mission, that then they have no justification for being, that it's not just simply another skin game or another appropriate racial mix."

Eli Ginzberg: "Do you mean that you would not want to have any white faculty members there?"

Clyde Ferguson: "no, not at all, not at all..."

Eli Ginzberg: "Does it mean that you would not allow a minority of white youngsters who happen to be in the neighborhood who would like to attend?" 45

Even when the mission of black colleges is approached as transitional as described here, limitations of their (black colleges) particular mission are turned against them. Will black colleges discriminate against underprivileged white and other minority students? The mission of the black college developed in response to such discrimination. Would you not have any white faculty members? Faculties and staffs at black colleges have traditionally been white dominated. Virtually every black college has been operated by racially mixed staffs while major white universities have acquired almost no tenured black faculty in even their most socially conscious departments.

There can be no mistake in foundation sincerity when the Carnegie Foundation announced that it would help black institutions develop

⁴⁵Clark and Gordon, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

new programs and activities "that respond to challenges that confront them as institutions in transition."⁴⁶

⁴⁶"Carnegie Panel Urges Tripling Federal Aid for Black Colleges," Higher Education and National Affairs, American Council on Education, Volume XX, Number 7, (February 19, 1971), p. 5.

C H A P T E R I I I

CHAPTER III

A NEW MODEL

There have already been a vast number of attempts at creating alternatives and innovations in policy, curriculum, and in overall programming for black colleges. The work of Tilden and Wilbur LeMelle, for example, deals extensively with the variety of possibilities available to black institutions of higher learning in the future as well as the present. These efforts have been cast aside by the administrators, faculties, and denominations who staff and run these colleges, as untimely or as meritless criticism of institutions trying valiantly to survive under the extreme tenuousness of black existence in white America.

Those who resist the strategies for change have argued that innovation would endanger the black colleges, or that it might violate the purpose of the institutions, let alone lower their prestige -- provided their particular college is blessed with favorable comparison against other black institutions. They fear the white community which tolerates their existence and the white foundations which provide for it. They (black institutions) feel more powerless than the black poor to whom access even in them is denied. These institutions have never realized the power of their position. They cannot at this point in history be destroyed through pressure from the white community. The only legitimate grounds on which they can be attacked is one the grounds that they have, too often, been blind to the needs of the

community which they serve, and intransigent in regard to striving for the elements of education which identify them as "equal in quality" to fine white schools. They have not learned the lesson that students everywhere are teaching: that relevance and quality more often than not go hand-in-hand.

Andrew Billingsley writes:

"Not one of these more than a hundred colleges has done an adequate job of reflecting, representing, honoring, or developing the black presence in higher education. For all of their contribution to the education of black people, they have been essentially white-oriented colleges. In this respect they have been a product, victim, and perpetrator of the Anglo-conformity aspect of white racism, while at the same time one of the most effective means of coping with racism, and perhaps even one of the ¹ most effective agents of its destruction."

Therein is the major miscalculation in which these institutions seem still to base their intransigence. Thus, no new programs have emerged from black colleges which expand the accessibility of education to black people. No different approaches to the social problems of black people, rural, urban, or international have been attempted in recent years by any of the black colleges, public or private. No introspection has been conducted which yielded any more than the incorporation of standard administrative or educational procedures already used in America's major white institutions. No continuous

¹Andrew Billingsley, "The Black Presence in American Higher Education," in What Black Educators Are Saying, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (New York, 1970), p. 135.

appeal has been made among these institutions for black energy and intelligence to create solutions to black problems. Nor have black colleges and universities condemned the inappropriate and often faulty developments which white scholars and institutions have applied to black education and life, e.g., Urban Renewal and Model Cities.

Billingsley again contributes:

"The fault of this blind search after European ways, this effort to do nothing that was not done or taught in white colleges, has not been the fault completely of the administrators of these colleges, or the black community generally. For these institutions, like all institutions, are creatures of the larger white society. They are dependent on that society for sanction and support. It is very clear that until recently any black college president or faculty which wanted to strive for excellence was told in a variety of ways more effective than words that the white way was the right way. And any substantial deviations, or innovations, in the direction of the black experience would have resulted in the college's losing its accreditation, its budget, and a substantial portion of its faculty and student body." ²

Tragically, black colleges have created no plan for education. Because of this miscalculation, institutions have looked to their weaknesses rather than their strengths. They are guilty of looking outward for help rather than to factors which, at base, provide the possibility for their existence. They have vitality because and only because of the resilience of the black community which they may yet serve. Their existence is not owed to the larger white society in

²Ibid., p. 136.

which they are located, not to the foundations which fund them, but to the people whose will to survive produces the warm bodies whom they teach.

Charles V. Hamilton suggests that the black community in general has developed since the 1960's a dependency upon the public sector for sustenance and development. Black communities, unlike others in American society, have been forced economically into a patron-recipient relationship which obtain public and philanthropic funds to service "recipients," not "clients." The recipient is obligated to give up nothing in return for this service.

"A patron-recipient relationship like that between the administrators of the "Great Society" programs of the 1960's and blacks - does not build local bases of political power and therefore is dysfunctional to the black community's political ³ development..."

(The patron recipient relationship) serves service programs from politics - a fundamental mistake.

The same situation has developed in the black colleges, to the extent that their development and their service to the black community are disjointed.

"To reject much of the common critique of black higher education, however, is not intended to imply that the traditional Negro colleges do not deserve legitimate criticism. Nor is it to suggest that these schools have achieved and are continuing to attain their maximum potential,

³ Alex Poinsett, "Class Patterns in Black Politics," Ebony Magazine, Volume XXVIII, Number 10, (August, 1973), p. 35.

however circumscribed that might be. What is meant is that there is a certain superficial irrelevance in the standard criticism of the Negro college because it fails to identify the real deficiencies of these colleges and misrepresents their true historic failure." ⁴

The real enigma is that the immutable standard quality revered by these colleges ipso facto denies them any potential for real educational excellence. It is incontrovertible that these attitudes derive principally from the fact that such institutions are Negro institutions, and thereby suffer the peculiar disqualification of every institution in the United States that is so labeled.

The imperative, then, for the black college is to assume a more productive association with the community it must serve. Innovation geared to establishing the skills and overall potential for a developing people must be second nature to the black college. The black college will attain appropriate recognition only when the very idea of black first-classness is conceptually possible in the United States, even if only among black Americans. The bulk of new counseling, advising, and support services existent in white colleges and universities is able to address student needs only because many problems faced by black students are paradigmatic for all students. This is especially evident in regard to alienation, powerlessness, and disenfranchisement. Black colleges must train students to deal with the aforelisted for an entire people within a society, which treats its own youth this way. One opportunity for recognition for black colleges depends, then on their

⁴Tilden LeMelle, Wilbur LeMelle, The Black College: A Strategy for Achieving Relevancy, (New York, 1969), p. 20.

ability to create models for the solution of educational problems of which the larger society has just begun to become cognizant. Of importance here is the extent to which the progress of black people might be served by allowing black colleges to become such models. Another impediment may be that black colleges are more resistant to change than white institutions, primarily because of the formal training and the mis-education of important members of their staffs. The central issue here is the purpose of higher education for black people, and its perimeters are type and quality.

Consequently, the question of the quality of black higher education is primarily related to the kind of education these colleges are providing and that the former cannot be appreciably raised until the latter is clearly understood and accepted. In this same sense, black higher education finds justification and purpose finally in the articulation of a commitment to a social development of black people. Impetus and stimulation to qualitative change can only proceed from such black idealism that provides a rationale for higher education for blacks and prevents this rationale from being an empty and unfulfilling expression. To view education in terms of the impact it should have on the minds of black students as maturing individuals having special responsibilities for the total development of the black community is the task of the black college. Its programs and its products should reflect such commitment. No black college can afford, therefore, to harbor the notion of some "immutable quality in education" which denies that black community, student, or adult, the full use of

its facilities for their development. No black college or university can be content to minister only to those who can afford the privilege of higher education. No black college can continue to view the failure of its students as their inability to do college work. Grades, tradition, and even certification must become secondary to the successful transmission of information and skills vital to the development of black people. To do otherwise would be to default on the primary responsibility of such institutions. This default has already occurred in the uncritical adoption and application of the principles and practices of "mainstream" American education and as such has not only been irrelevant and at times inoperative, but even harmful.⁵

Black colleges no longer have to prove their worth to white academics or to black academics hooked on standardized notions of education, but rather they must establish worth through service and the development of resources for future services.⁶ Contrary to the instance of a good number of black college officials who mistakenly argue this point as either justification for their economic reprieve formulas of merger and consortia development, or those who place the survival of black colleges in their ultimate appeal to white students, service to our own communities is the only value which black institutions can achieve. There is no other logical criteria of worth for black institutions.

⁵Ibid., p. 21.

⁶Ibid., p. 22.

Many of the associations which black colleges are forming with larger white institutions and with business can only lead to the absorption into or dependence upon those institutions and businesses. Absorption and dependence are not new. They are the lingering result of OEO programming, Reconstruction, and missionaryism.

"A new partnership between government and business is evolving that may bring about profound social changes in American life: the vast technical and managerial resources of the big defense and aerospace firms are being put to use in an attack on social problems that range from poverty and crime to water pollution and transportation. Elected politicians and government administrators are leading the way, business is going along willinly, and for profit.

The collaboration is already a reality in the Job Corps program of the Office of Economic Opportunity - and while technocratic dangers exist and may well increase in such a partnership, there is every indication that private corporations will increasingly carry out programs now assumed to be the sole prerogative of the bureaucratic agencies of the government.

Although the overriding reason for this shift in corporate activity is the reduction in defense and space spending, there are other explanations. One is that the service industries, in contrast with manufacturing, are generally viewed by economists as the growth industries of the future... And among the service industries 7 education is the fastest-growing of all."

Education falls well within the range of growth industries of the future; and the education of the "disadvantaged," the "poor," the "inner city dweller," the "migrant farmer," or whatever one

⁷ Jerald ter Horst, "The Business Role in the Great Society," The Reporter, October 21, 1965, p. 26.

chooses to call colonized people is the largest single marker in which almost anything will work. By "work" I mean superficially pacifying people who suffer racial, political, and economic oppression.

Industry and business have moved into the development of hardware and software to incorporate the new technology into education, resulting in a new kind of relationship between business and education. Corporations such as General Learning have been formed. Business and industry now say, "We're going into education not only to perform a service, but to sell a service. This seems to be a more activist kind of relationship, whereas before it was a kind of advisory relationship."⁸

Higher Education and National Affairs and New York Times both reported, in December of 1971, that International Business Machines Corporation had established a faculty loan program which provided eighteen scientists, engineers, and business management specialists on full-year salaried leaves to teach at eighteen black Southern colleges.⁹

When the program was conceived in 1970, each of the four year black colleges was asked to set a priority for a faculty member who

⁸Loc. cit.

⁹"Higher Education and National Affairs, American Council on Education, Volume XX, Number 45, (December 17, 1971), p. 7; Nancy Hicks, "IBM Assists 18 Black Colleges by Lending Employees to Teach," New York Times, December 19, 1971.

might be provided by IBM. Then each of the department heads at IBM was asked to look at his personnel to determine who wanted to participate in such a program and who could be spared. The people and the needs were matched, which is fundamentally the selling feature in a relationship between business and the black colleges. Nine of the participating schools were public; and nine were private. All had participated in other IBM programs.

The personnel involved in the faculty loan program assumed teaching and counseling roles as well as serving in consultancy roles, making recommendations for departmental improvements and for long-range institutional planning.

Black decision-makers have enthusiastically endorsed this type of relationship with business because the program means to them that black colleges will not go out of business. More important, however, is that black college presidents claim to believe such a program circumvents their inability to find faculty with "all the desired attributes," especially in specialized areas such as science and engineering.¹⁰ The result of such a relationship could be the eventual control of technical areas of study within black colleges by business.

¹⁰ Nancy Hicks, "IBM Assists 18 Black Colleges by Lending Employees to Teach," New York Times, December 19, 1971.

With this history of educational involvement, black colleges might enter relationships quite cautiously, if at all, knowing that quid pro quo is no bargain. Even aid given for capital development should be considered warily because it might be used to direct our institutions into so-called areas of "high technical competence" and away from emphasis on the total development of black people through the confrontation of policy. The situation is dismal. For example, there are over-stocked warehouses where OEO-assisted education programs house useless teaching machines. There is a bonanza for the producers of both hardware and software being introduced into these new schools, as well as into old schools where grandiose claims are made on behalf of newfangled hardware to teach the "unteachable."¹¹ The fate of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) is symbolic of society's growing disillusionment with the traditional concept that a great deal of money will erase the stigma of educational policy directed toward black people. A word or so concerning the great deal of money -- none of that money found its way directly into the coffers of near destitute black colleges and universities. Very little got there indirectly. Those great sums, however, testify to the policy of government and business which has certainly not encouraged institutional determinism in black institutions.

Many major black decision-makers in higher education have devoted their careers to influencing the pattern of foundation and corporate

¹¹Jerald ter Horst, op. cit., p. 26.

giving to black colleges. They have maintained political viability in the black community and certainly within the black middle-class by insisting that, until recently, the foundations and corporations have not felt that it required anywhere near the same amount of money for black institutions to educate black youngsters as it did for white institutions to educate white youngsters when, in point of fact, it costs more.

On that basis, they would establish a relationship with the private sector which appears to at least increase the per capita institutional spending. The base consideration has not specific reference to broadening institutional service to the black community. As black problems become even less a priority on the national level, relationships may prove less honorable below the surface.

Programs designed and implemented for black development are invariably modeled after the poverty program. The theme of such programs takes the general tone of reaction without direct political and economic strategies. Rhody McCoy offers this view of them:

"Okay, one or two good jobs, but the rest is peanuts. And every year we worry about one word: refunding... we're still involved in programs that keep the community from being a community." 12

¹² Rhody McCoy, "Why Have An Ocean Hill-Brownsville?," in What Black Educators Are Saying, ed. Nathan Wright, Jr., (New York, 1970), p. 260.

Singling out the word 'refunding' offers easy entree into the conceptual area of economic control. It is the concluding sentence of the quote, however, which addresses the implications of educational control through economics. I would agree with Dr. McCoy that if we only concentrate on education we might lose sight of control in other areas. But no analysis of educational control would be complete if not presented inclusive of economic terms.

"OEO's major contribution to the black and poor was a deceptive hope. Its real contribution was a fat one to the private corporate coffers of the rich. The big paydays went, for example, to giant corporations such as Litton Industries, ITT, Packard-Bell Electronics, Xerox, IBM and others who ran massive Job Corps centers and sold goods and services to OEO.

Thus, OEO has been merely the table upon which black and poor hopes were laid, and under which the money was passed to the white and rich. And thus, the dismantlement of the table means essentially two things:

1. The Nixon Administration is no longer offering hope - not even the disingenuous promise, the deceptive hope heretofore offered by OEO.
2. What, with relatively clean escapes through Watergate, an election sweep, the appointment of top Litton executive Roy Ash as the new head of the Office of Management and Budget, \$250 million handouts to each Lockheed and Penn Central, some intimidation of the nation's press - with such successes as these - the Nixon administration apparently feels that it no longer needs such tables as OEO under which to hand public money to rich private coffers. Perhaps it may now do so with impunity above the table.

The administration's message to the publishers was that these OEO-type covers are no longer needed.

The new Nixon budget escalates "benign neglect" to malignant abandonment. It tells the nation that the black and poor are - at best - left to fend for themselves." 13

Money would, indeed, be enticing to the under-financed bastions of black education. Experience, however, may put the promise of aid in clearer perspective. DuBois writes in Dusk of Dawn:

"After a time almost no Negro institution could collect funds without the recommendation or acquiescence of Mr. Washington. Few political appointments were made anywhere in the United States without his consent. Even the careers of rising young colored men were often determined by his advice and certainly his opposition was fatal..." 14

With Washington's death, that power, including the years when Adam Clayton Powell controlled the powerful Health, Education, and Welfare Committee in the Congress, never again returned to black hands, as, of course, was the design of white northern industrialists and southerners. Though it would seem that such money promises are being extended by the government-business partnership, their offer is only made individually among black college presidents or jointly under limited projects such as the IBM and Xerox arrangements. To be sure, black college presidents are not powerful enough to negotiate a present-day 'Atlanta Compromise,' or to establish themselves as the new arbiters of a very special kind of educational experience and

¹³Samuel F. Yette, "Nixon's New Budget," Dawn Magazine, The Afro-American Company, Inc., April, 1973, p. 19.

¹⁴W. E. B. DuBois, Dusk of Dawn, (New York, 19740, 1968), p. 73.

potential for black people.

"By 1924...DuBois' view of the role of higher education in Black America's struggle for equality... It was no longer a haven from the battle, but a center where the battle should be initiated... DuBois cried out for black men whose education was thoroughly grounded in the problems of contemporary black America." 15

As arbiters in these special institutions, their immediate decision to accept money for institutional validity could result in the potential for black survival being bought at the lowest possible price.

The record of Afro-American black college presidents is an impressive one overall. The stakes in this struggle, however, are too great to be risked at the hands of so few men whose experiences are far from representative of general black aspirations. They have fostered, for example, "a psychological and cultural pattern of imitation of white 'success ethic' values...that (have been) difficult, if not impossible, to break."¹⁶ E. Franklin Frazier in the Black Bourgeoisie chides them in particular for their "opportunistic philosophy with reference to the race problem or economic problem facing the country."¹⁷

¹⁵ Phil Chanin, Black Colleges: The Struggle for Life and Values, B.A. Thesis, (Amherst College, 1970), p. 23.

¹⁶ Jencks and Riesman, The Academic Revolution, (Garden City, New York, 1968), p. 442.

¹⁷ E. Franklin Frazier, Black Bourgeoisie, (New York, 1962), p. 98.

"...the whites work out their plans behind closed doors, have them approved by a few Negroes serving nominally on a board, and then employ a white or mixed staff to carry out their program. This is not interracial cooperation. It is merely the ancient idea of calling upon the "inferior" to carry out the orders of the "superior." To express it in post-classic language, as did Jessie O. Thomas, 'The Negroes do the 'coing' and the whites the 'operating'.'"

18

The interest of black people must be protected from this kind of manipulation during this period of seeming non-assertiveness. Leadership must be earned and it should never create contradictions in the interest of dissipating black energy. It should pose problems and enter dialogue which establishes both the people's short range desires and wider, their long range implications.

The existence of the black college in far different form than it now exists is essential to the survival of black people in America.

Yette describes their necessity this way:

"In the three and a half centuries of black oppression in America, education and training have been essential to the oppressor's ability to control, and the denial of them has been necessary to black people's inability to defend themselves even in non-violent struggles. Thus, the black campus and the black students play a unique role in the current effort for survival. Those elements in the society still committed to black enslavement, illiteracy, or death are employing massive energy, planning, and political acumen toward pacification, neutralization, or destruction of the black colleges. The rationale is simple: Black colleges and black students of

¹⁸Carter G. Woodson, Miseducation of the Negro, (Washington, D. C.).

white colleges have become an effective instrument for the development of black liberation personnel and strategies. The black campuses, in particular, have become "sanctuaries" of black liberation. Thus, they had to be invaded just as the "sanctuaries" in Cambodia required what President Nixon termed a cleaning out." 19

The existing hundred or so black colleges could be used as a capital base for extending legitimate educational services to black people all over the world.

It is not difficult to see black control over black institutions as a realizeable political goal, especially in view of the segregationist tradition of whites in those states.

Even in the case of land grant colleges, there is legislative control but not total legislative dominance. Central to the concept of the traditional Negro Land Grant College is the campus's chief administrator who is the system's overseer. He directs the action and his recommendations are accepted in the interests of maintaining Negro education inferior in comparison to white education. Black political power is also a factor.

The merger strategy in which traditionally Negro colleges become merged with a state's white university is an attempt to take total control of Negro colleges in order to prevent them from developing into Black institutions. These efforts are engineered by political

¹⁹ Samuel Yette, The Choice: Black Survival in America, (New York, 1971), p. 200.

liberals.²⁰ There can be no doubt that Arkansas AM & N at Pine Bluff will continue to be overwhelmingly black (in terms of student population), if not because of white racism in Arkansas, then because, without major development of facilities, it will be in no way the equal of any other University of Arkansas campus.

What white master-minds are seeking, therefore, is to eliminate all black influence upon educational policy. Many people think that the development of "school busing to achieve racial integration" as a campaign issue in 1972 was a step in the same direction.

On the other hand, mergers which grow out of attempts at consolidating scattered, poorly organized campuses into a broad network of people developing a human-centered educational pedagogy are crucial at this time. By human-centered educational pedagogy, I mean a program of educational action focused on the needs of the people involved in its process. Bits and pieces of such a program exist now, but not even America's Antiochs have engaged in pursuing this kind of experimentation because to go it alone would be suicidal for an institution which is regarded as traditionally high in educational quality.

Thus, it is inconceivable that even Hampton Institute with its impressive endowment could successfully sustain a real departure

²⁰"Arkansas Blacks Protest Merger," New York Times, February 27, 1972, Section II, p. 56.

from educational uniformity unless a significant number of other black colleges made the same attempt.

What I am proposing will provide a model for anyone who seriously desires to redirect education within an existing facility-bound system.

We have but to say to state legislatures and to the federal government that we have glimpsed what is in store for us if their current educational policy persists:

"1) Black enrollment has increased in the past five years - the number of black students in 1969 was more than 50% greater than in 1964. But white enrollment has also increased at a rapid rate, and the percentage of black students consequently remained virtually unchanged.

2) The traditional Negro colleges and universities are experiencing a leveling off of their growth rate; at several of them, the enrollment is declining. According to the American Council on Education, 'Increased efforts by many predominantly white colleges to recruit more black students may be serving more to redistribute the existing pool of black college freshmen than to increase the size of the total pool of blacks who go to college.'

3) A disproportionate percentage of black students in predominantly white institutions are freshmen, and there is ample reason to suspect that their attrition rate is higher than that of white freshmen. Colleges don't like to talk about attrition - the idea of accountability is anathema to them - but if the facts were known, my guess is that the fallout-pushout rate in American higher education is scandalously high.

4) The often-repeated claims of private institutions that they are leading the parade toward 'equal educational opportunity' and of junior colleges that they are 'open-door' institutions are exaggerated.

Exceptional institutions can be found, of course, but on the whole, private colleges and junior colleges deserve no more pride of accomplishment in this regard than the public colleges and universities - which is to say, not much at all."²¹

We see the cost of education rising and the potential for educating black students even in the shape of our oppressors as protracting. The special tax credits enabling middle class families to send children to college will make no appreciable difference for the black poor. Outright aid to parochial schools can only serve white, elitist institutions.

I, therefore, propose that state legislatures turn black land grant institutions over to us outright, along with tax dollars which we pay and which are supposedly paid by non-family units (business and industry), or that those legislatures provide for the autonomous reorganization of those institutions under our control. Either choice would undermine current white educational control strategies.

Could whites use this attempt toward consolidation as the stalking horse for further cutbacks in black enrollment at white institutions? They might attempt it but their arguments would look quite feeble when compared with the under-representation of minority groups out of the general population enrolled in higher education institutions.

²¹ John Egerton, Research Perspectives, Minority Students on Campus, Expectations and Possibilities, ed. by Robert A. Altman and Patricia O. Snyder, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, (1970), pp. 36-37.

"The four minority groups, taken together, were under-represented in the 1970-1971 academic year by 779,000 students. Instead of the actual 544,000 minority students there should have been 1,323,000 matriculants to achieve statistical parity. The addition of 779,000 students to America's higher education effort would increase the total collegiate enterprise by 9.7 percent (from 8,050,000 to 8,829,000 students).

The foregoing estimates of current minority under-representation would be even higher if the college-age group were used as a base rather than the total population. The median age of each of the four minority groups is considerably lower than that of the rest of the population. Although Black Americans, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians constitute an estimated 15 percent of the total population, it is likely that they represent 17 or 18 percent of all Americans between the ages of 18 and 24. Thus, the numbers of additional minority students needed to achieve proportional representation are conservative if consideration is limited to the appropriate age group."²²

Expressed as percentages, the present ratio is as follows:²³

	% of population enrolled
Black Americans	2.0
Mexican Americans	1.0
Puerto Ricans	1.3
American Indians	<u>0.6</u>
Sub-total	1.8
All Others	<u>4.3</u>
Total	3.9

²²Fred E. Crossland, Minority Access to College, (New York, 1971), p. 16.

²³Ibid., p. 15.

Therefore, the argument against retrenchment in accessibility for minority students exposes the injustice which has always existed.

The fact is, according to Fred Crossland, that:

"In order to achieve proportional representation, the enrollment of minorities would have to be increased to the point where their ratios were the same as that given above for "all others" (4.3%). To reach that goal immediately:

The estimated black enrollment in 1970 would have to be increased by 543,000 (from 470,000 to 1,013,000) - an increase of 116 percent;

The estimated Mexican American enrollment in 1970 would have to be increased by 165,000 (from 50,000 to 215,000) - an increase of 330 percent;

The estimated Puerto Rican enrollment in 1970 would have to be increased by 45,000 (from 20,000 to 65,000) - an increase of 225 percent;

The estimated American Indian enrollment in 1970 would have to be increased by 26,000 (from 4,000 to 30,000) - an increase of 650 percent."²⁴

The real entrenchment facing black educational aspirations is those policies which: eliminate black institutions by either closing them, or integrating them, or merging them into white controlled university systems; the cutback in funding for such special programs as currently exist; and the raising of admissions standards which in reality is being used to preserve class interest and white domination.

²⁴ Loc. cit.

When black faculty set out to prove that traditional black colleges can attract and serve "large white enrollments," somehow, the balance of things seems out of kilter. They acknowledge the desperation of those who for whatever reasons are concerned about maintaining a black presence in higher education. They may be the same individuals who have insisted upon conforming to the standards of white universities or merely upon the notion of educational elitism. They may only be concerned about their individual security in a competitive teaching market. Whatever the case, they are confronted with an awesome burden of proof which far exceeds reason and unknowingly contends against every evil save the one which poses the greatest threat to the survival of black colleges - white control of education.

From all appearances, black colleges should be no more endangered with obsolescence than should Notre Dame or Bryn Mawr. Yet, they struggle against barrage after barrage of policy control from all levels of government, the foundations, and intellectuals whose comparative view of them distorts their function through disturbing demands for quality while insisting on an educational format which only serves a modest segment of the white population. Because of the actual growth potential of black people in formal education in general, racial control of these institutions is the only issue contested. Certainly, statistics indicate a large expansion of the black population in higher education, though by comparison against percentages for white enrollment and more important, graduation and employment, present increases should be more than doubled just to reach parity.

The inertia in which black educational aspirations languish is not as innocent, however, as it appears. It comes at a critical period in this nation's history as described in the chapter on the history of black higher education.

Consolidation of black educational control need not result in cumbersome bureaucracy nor lock-step uniformity. Consolidation as a strategy addresses the primary issue of wresting control from those few non-blacks who presently hold it. Such regional and local interfaces as fit reasonably within the educational pedagogy called for.

If we examine the location of black colleges, we find that their locations correspond in all cases except northern urban centers resulting from black migration since the turn of the century, with the heavy black population percentages of southern states.²⁵ This permits the structuring of existing campuses as centers for educational expansion rather than isolation as divergent totalities.

A regional complex of centers, like the four liberal arts colleges located on five campuses in Memphis, Tennessee, could increase their service from the 2,723 students enrolled in 1969 to twice that number of FTE's (the equivalent of full time students) within two years at little more increase in cost than they will incur by merely keeping their doors open.

²⁵Alex Poinsett, "Black Political Strategies for '72," Ebony Magazine, Volume XXVII, Number 4, February, 1972, pp. 68-69, Tables 1 and 2.

STATE	TOTAL BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS	CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT NO.	BLACK POPULATION	PERCENT BLACK POPULATION	CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE	NUMBER OF TERMS IN OFFICE	PRINCIPAL CITY IN CONG. DISTRICT
ALABAMA	903,467	26.2	8	1st	146,910	35.5	Jack Edwards	4	Pritchard
				2nd	125,128	32.5	William L. Dickinson	4	Mobile
				3rd	132,291	31.8	George W. Andrews	15	Montgomery
				5th	158,059	36.3	Walter Flowers	2	Phenix City
				6th	143,218	32.9	John Buchanan	4	Bessemer
ARKANSAS	352,445	18.3	4	4th	139,251	39.6	David Pryor	4	Birmingham
CALIFORNIA	1,400,143	7.0	38	21st	286,695	75.7	Augustus F. Hawkins	5	Pine Bluff
				31st	182,738	41.3	Charles H. Wilson	5	Los Angeles (Part)*
GEORGIA	1,187,149	25.7	10	1st	150,882	34.9	G. Elliott Hagan	6	Los Angeles (Part)*
				2nd	137,835	38.2	Dawson Mathis	1	Savannah
				3rd	132,950	32.9	Jack Brinkley	3	Albany
				5th	186,894	39.2	S. Fletcher Thompson	3	Columbus
				10th	159,760	34.0	Robert Stephens, Jr.	6	Atlanta
ILLINOIS	1,425,674	12.8	24	1st	363,989	95.5	Ralph H. Metcalfe	1	Augusta
				2nd	136,109	32.8	Abner J. Mikva	2	Chicago (Part)*
				3rd	225,134	49.8	Morgan F. Murphy	1	Chicago (Part)*
				6th	164,862	42.3	George W. Collins	2	Chicago (Part)*
				7th	151,397	44.2	Frank Annunzio	4	Chicago (Part)*
LOUISIANA	1,086,986	29.8	8	1st	157,024	36.3	Edward F. Hebert	16	Chicago (Part)*
				2nd	157,461	36.7	Hale Boggs	14	Chicago (Part)*
				4th	145,834	35.3	Joe Waggonner, Jr.	6	New Orleans (Part)*
				5th	156,813	37.8	Otto E. Passman	13	New Orleans (Part)*
				8th	142,166	30.3	Speedy O. Long	4	Shreveport
MARYLAND	699,479	17.8	8	4th	114,499	30.7	Paul S. Sarbanes	1	Monroe
				7th	216,424	50.1	Parren J. Mitchell	1	Alexandria
MICHIGAN	991,066	11.2	19	1st	294,293	75.2	John Conyers, Jr.	4	Baltimore (Part)*
				13th	225,536	70.2	Charles C. Diggs	9	Baltimore (Part)*
MISSISSIPPI	815,770	36.8	5	1st	195,230	46.2	Thomas G. Abernethy	15	Highland Park
				2nd	154,085	35.5	Jamie L. Whitten	16	Detroit (Part)*
				3rd	191,739	43.1	Charles H. Griffin	3	Detroit (Part)*
				4th	165,350	41.0	G. V. Montgomery	3	Detroit (Part)*
MISSOURI	480,191	10.3	10	1st	232,996	61.8	William Clay	2	Greenville
NEW JERSEY	770,292	10.7	15	10th	136,884	31.2	Peter W. Rodino, Jr.	12	Clarksville
				11th	141,157	36.8	Joseph G. Minish	5	Clarksdale
NEW YORK	2,169,455	11.9	41	7th	186,880	37.1	Joseph P. Addabbo	6	Jackson
				10th	128,235	30.5	Emanuel Celler	25	Vicksburg
				12th	264,949	65.9	Shirley Chisholm	2	Meridian
				18th	240,879	72.4	Charles Rangel	1	St. Louis (Part)*
				21st	133,302	34.5	Herman Badillo	1	Newark (Part)*
				22nd	121,293	28.1	James H. Scheuer	4	East Orange
NORTH CAROLINA	1,126,478	22.2	11	1st	153,760	37.2	Walter B. Jones	4	New York City (Part)*
				2nd	171,291	43.3	L. H. Fountain	10	New York City (Part)*
				7th	129,879	26.3	Alton Lennon	8	New York City (Part)*
OHIO	970,477	9.1	24	21st	216,193	60.9	Louis Stokes	2	New York City (Part)*
PENNSYLVANIA	1,016,514	8.6	27	1st	180,155	47.9	William A. Barrett	13	New York City (Part)*
				2nd	222,245	59.4	Robert N. C. Nix	8	New York City (Part)*
				3rd	107,345	33.4	James A. Byrne	10	New York City (Part)*
				5th	138,811	34.3	William J. Green	5	New York City (Part)*
SOUTH CAROLINA	789,041	30.4	6	1st	172,120	36.0	Mendel Davis	1	Charleston
				2nd	145,085	33.2	Floyd Spence	1	Columbia
				5th	125,558	32.0	Tom S. Gettys	5	Rock Hill
				6th	157,456	40.9	John L. McMillan	17	Florence
TENNESSEE	621,305	15.8	9	7th	153,610	29.3	Ray Blanton	3	Jackson
				8th	100,169	23.7	Ed Jones	2	Memphis (Part)*
				9th	14,231	34.7	Dan Kuykendall	3	Memphis (Part)*
TEXAS	1,399,005	12.5	23	23rd	145,309	29.4	Abraham Kazen	3	Houston (Part)*
VIRGINIA	861,368	18.5	10	2nd	131,581	31.4	G. William Whitcomb	2	Portsmouth
				4th	158,323	37.5	Watkins M. Abbott	13	Norfolk
WISCONSIN	128,224	2.9	10	5th	102,104	29.5	Henry S. Reuss	9	Petersburg

SOURCE: 1970 Census of Population and Congressional District Data

*In instances where only a portion of the principal city is in the designated Congressional District, all data following the column marked "Principal City" is based on the entire city inasmuch as no determination has been made of only that portion of the city in the Congressional District.

Prepared by the JOINT CENTER FOR POLITICAL STUDIES, Washington, D.C. 20005 (202) 638-4177

Table 2. BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION BY STATE.

STATE	NUMBER	PERCENT
Alabama	553,419	23.5
Alaska	5,883	3.0
Arizona	31,818	2.7
Arkansas	212,952	15.6
California	881,341	6.3
Colorado	41,797	2.8
Connecticut	108,544	5.1
Delaware	47,427	12.8
District of Columbia	371,592	66.8
Florida	630,027	12.8
Georgia	728,675	23.3
Hawaii	5,212	.10
Idaho	1,458	.30
Illinois	872,717	11.3
Indiana	220,070	6.2
Iowa	19,890	1.0
Kansas	66,879	4.2
Kentucky	150,626	6.8
Louisiana	652,392	27.2
Maine	1,828	.30
Maryland	452,587	16.6
Massachusetts	107,814	2.7
Michigan	623,322	10.4
Minnesota	21,403	.60
Mississippi	473,392	32.3
Missouri	299,345	9.0
Montana	4,388	.29
Nebraska	23,669	2.3
Nevada	16,046	4.8
New Hampshire	1,615	.31
New Jersey	476,502	9.5
New Mexico	11,541	1.8
New York	1,443,643	11.1
North Carolina	701,401	19.9
North Dakota	1,515	.36
Ohio	617,225	8.4
Oklahoma	106,340	5.8
Oregon	16,789	1.1
Pennsylvania	680,803	8.1
Rhode Island	16,158	2.4
South Carolina	471,603	27.0
South Dakota	1,066	.23
Tennessee	410,384	15.0
Texas	918,744	12.0
Utah	4,607	.67
Vermont	537	.17
Virginia	548,285	17.0
Washington	45,300	1.9
West Virginia	45,316	3.7
Wisconsin	72,290	2.4
Wyoming	1,600	.70
Total	14,219,777	9.2%

Table 3. PRIVATE FOUR-YEAR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES
FOUNDED FOR NEGROES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1969.

82

Location	Institution	Year founded ^a	Support and control [†]	Accreditation [‡]	Level of offerings	Total enrollment\$		Increase or (-) loss\$	Dollars awarded, 1969\$
						1969	1968		
Mississippi									
Holly Springs	Mississippi Industrial College	1905	CME	S	bachelor's	424	320	104	88
Holly Springs	Rust College	1866	Methodist	SA	bachelor's	610	613	-3	105
Tougaloo	Tougaloo College	1869	AMA and UCMS	SA	bachelor's	513	714	-201	143
North Carolina									
Concord	Barber-Scotia College	1867	Presbyterian	SA	bachelor's	560	609	-49	31+
Greensboro	Bennett College	1873	Methodist	SA	bachelor's	627	684	-57	139
Charlotte	Johnson C. Smith University	1867	Presbyterian	SA	bachelor's	1,244	1,339	-95	175
Salisbury	Livingston College	1879	AMEZ	SA	bachelor's	809	836	-27	103+
Raleigh	Saint Augustine's College	1867	Prot. Episcopal	SA	bachelor's	1,109	1,040	69	108
Raleigh	Shaw University	1865	ABC	SA	bachelor's	1,193	1,085	108	111
Ohio									
Wilberforce	Wilberforce University	1856	AME	NCA	bachelor's	1,003	1,043	-40	105
Pennsylvania									
Lincoln University	Lincoln University	1854	Independent	MSA	bachelor's	1,130	1,002	128	125
South Carolina									
Columbia	Allen University	1870	AME	S	bachelor's	600	699	-99	141
Columbia	Benedict College	1870	ABC	SA	bachelor's	1,254	1,254		230
Orangeburg	Claflin College	1869	Methodist	SA	bachelor's	708	731	-23	87
Sumter	Morris College	1905	SBC	S	bachelor's	534	580	-46	75
Denmark	Voorhees College	1897	Prot. Episcopal	SA	bachelor's	715	725	-10	109
Tennessee									
Nashville	Fisk University	1866	Independent	SA	master's	1,233	1,161	72	228
Knoxville	Knoxville College	1875	United Presb.	SA	bachelor's	918	808	30	125
Jackson	Leno College	1882	CME	SA	bachelor's	970	1,102	-126	160
Memphis	LeMoyne-Owan College	1870	AMA	SA	bachelor's	703	605	8	130
Nashville	Meharry Medical College	1876	Independent	P	medical	487	434	53	64
Texas									
Dallas	Bishop College	1881	ABC	SA	bachelor's	1,940	1,775	165	246
Austin	Huston-Tillotson College	1877	Methodist and United Church of Christ	SA	bachelor's	641	832	-191	90
Hawkins	Jarvis-Christian College	1912	Disc. of Christ	SA	bachelor's	550	551	-1	72
Waco	Poul Quinn College	1872	AME	S	bachelor's	584	633	-49	63+
Tyler	Texas College	1894	CME	SA	bachelor's	437	479	-42	53

LEGEND FOR TABLE 3

*The year of founding for several institutions is the year of founding of their progenitors.

+CME = Christian Methodist Episcopal, SDA - Seventh Day Adventist, MBC = Methodist, AMA = American Missionary Association, Presb. U.S. = Presbyterian, AMA-Ind. = American Missionary Association-Independent, NBC = Northern Baptist Convention, AME = African Methodist Episcopal, ABC = Baptist, RC = Roman Catholic, UCMS = United Church, AMEZ = African Methodist Episcopal Zion, SBC = State Baptists Convention.

†MSA = Middle States Association, NCA = North Central Association, P = Accredited by appropriate professional agency, S = State, and SA = Southern Association.

&The Federal Interagency Committee on Education, The Black Colleges: A National Resource, mimeographed, pp. iv-10ff., based on data from U.S. Office of Education, Opening Fall Enrollment in Higher Education: 1968, and preliminary 1969 data from the Higher Education General Information Survey in that office; and Directory of Predominantly Negro Colleges and Universities in the United States of America, Plans for Progress, January, 1969.

9 1969 figures not available when table compiled.

Table 4. AVERAGE STATE EXPENDITURES PER STUDENT
IN WHITE AND BLACK COLLEGES, BY STATE
1967-1968

84

State	Predominantly white colleges (all institutions)			Colleges for Negroes			Predominantly white colleges (of comparable size)		
	Number of institutions reporting	Average enrollment per institution	Average state expenditure per student	Number of institutions reporting	Average enrollment per institution	Average state expenditure per student	Number of institutions reporting	Average enrollment per institution	Average state expenditure per student
Alabama	12	4,356	\$ 885	2	1,903	\$1,277	3	2,265	\$ 592
Arkansas	10	3,530	888	1	3,291	615	4	3,056	507
Delaware	1	11,872	768	1	909	1,152			
Florida	5	11,016	1,384	1	4,088	1,159	2	3,351	1,264
Georgia	13	4,489	1,209	3	1,682	861	4	1,558	728
Kentucky	7	9,019	1,082	1	1,609	1,093			
Louisiana	13	5,638	1,156	2	5,759	1,173	6	5,622	895
Maryland	5	2,287	958	3	1,989	1,105	3	1,350	1,235
Mississippi	6	5,216	479	3	2,563	576	2	2,531	593
N. Carolina	13	3,640	1,001	5	2,094	829	5	1,765	803
Ohio	37	5,139	690	1	2,684	837			
Oklahoma	13	5,522	599	1	1,308	580	3	1,543	571
Pennsylvania	42	3,763	962	1	1,808	1,050	2	2,157	935
S. Carolina	15	1,843	1,375	1	1,854	1,399			
Tennessee	12	5,693	808	1	4,793	967	2	4,275	793
Texas	20	9,605	901	2	4,268	774	4	4,409	715
Virginia	12	5,051	646	2	3,336	771	2	3,297	479
TOTAL	236	5,129	\$ 913	31	2,647	\$ 926	42	2,984	\$ 753
Private									
Alabama	4	1,009		4	1,319	\$ 102	4	1,009	
Arkansas	7	892	\$ 6	2	454	1	3	730	\$ 3
District of Columbia	7	6,872	3	1	8,737		3	9,309	
Florida	13	2,609	49	1	620		4	700	
Georgia	7	1,374	4	6	979		2	936	
Louisiana	3	3,477	20	2	1,177		2	1,053	
Mississippi	2	564	50	2	593		2	564	
N. Carolina	19	1,504	2	6	900		12	892	
Ohio	45	1,777	1	1	914		7	915	3
Pennsylvania	71	1,927	175	1	994	756	5	1,012	15
S. Carolina	5	940	1	5	790	1	3	779	3
Tennessee	21	1,118		4	893	26	13	843	
Texas	23	1,998	5	6	765		9	979	
Virginia	11	1,007		3	1,510		11	1,007	

Public = open (○)
Private = closed (●)

Doctoral-granting institutions
Comprehensive colleges
Comprehensive colleges with
relatively limited selection
of programs
Liberal arts colleges
Theological seminaries and
bible colleges
Medical schools
Two-year colleges and
institutions

Map 1. DISTRIBUTION, BY TYPE, OF COLLEGES FOUNDED FOR NEGROES.



A closer look at these institutions as they now exist may indicate something of their real potential. All the colleges are black operated, church supported private institutions, located in what is called the Mid-South region (refer to maps 1 and 2) of the country, which refers to the commercial marketing center at Memphis. They are surrounded by Memphis State University, the main campus of the University of Mississippi, and a number of small white liberal arts colleges and seminaries. There is virtually no regional competition among these institutions for black students, except in the case of athletes. There is one community college in the vicinity and only one modern vocational school of any note. The four black colleges are located within an eighty mile radius of Memphis. Other black colleges are nearly twice as far away from the city as these four colleges.

Independently, they are all fledgling institutions struggling for survival in a tight market only slightly more hospitable than the white institutions which surround them. They are competing at increasing costs for the same captive audience which is becoming, for the moment, increasingly free to enter integrated institutions.

They are all involved in building programs through foundations and government aid, but view this expansion as limited to the traditional construction of buildings such as dormitories, student unions, and conventional libraries, facilities which they have sorely needed until the present. The only program changes which are occurring copy existing programs at nearby white institutions.

Map 3. Sample Colleges and Area Served.



They are, however, the undisputed centers of cultural activity for black people in the region and have earned that position through years of service in that direction. Of late, they find it much more difficult to address the wider perspective of black lives and find their overall influence declining. The most immediate reason is that they no longer command the most talented or aggressive youth in the region.²⁶

Together, these four small colleges could become a broad complex of educational and service apparatus whose very character is geared toward the development of this region. It could become a resource.

They could easily serve both the urban and rural population, offering academic as well as career training. But for the most part, they could assess regionally how many school teachers are needed and gear their programs toward adequately training them. They already account for more than half of the black teachers employed in that area's schools. They could move accordingly to train millwrights, engineers, doctors, lawyers, and managers, whatever skills as can readily be seen as functional.

They might organize their education programs into:

1. an early childhood institute focusing on
 - a. nursery and day school development
 - b. primary school development

²⁶Jencks and Riesman, op. cit., pp. 444 and 472.

2. an adult learning institute
 - a. in-service specialty programs with urban and rural emphasis
 - b. basic skills
 - c. high school equivalency
 - d. retraining for black economic development
3. a career training institute centered around certifying
 - a. teachers for all levels
 - b. health services personnel
 - c. communicative skills (e.g., newspapers, cable television)
 - d. technical applications (e.g., mechanics, engineers, agricultural specialists, etc.)

One of the main ingredients in the success of this type complex is that every facility and non-facility be thought of as a function. So rather than developing dormitories and student unions, such existent facilities become alive almost around the clock with people developing skills and attitudes. This arrangement would in fact demand an end to limited constructions because its aim would be to view total communities as recipients of its services.

New constructions could be dispersed throughout the region rather than isolated at existing sites. Specific locations could be developed for joint educational and service needs. A clinic which trains health services personnel would service the needs, for example, of remote rural areas as well as crowded, neglected urban areas.

These "learning centers" for commuting, working students would "replace present campuses" and would advance students at their own pace.²⁷ They would develop in the most easily organized urban and rural areas at first. And they would focus on moving people freely through either the reorganized college curriculum or the newly implemented non-academic programs. The total education complex could not engage in degree certification as is standard in colleges currently. It would have to be worked out over time.

Funding for such a venture can be achieved through servicing more people at an overall reduction in fees. Other funding sources may become available but the main idea is to spread reduced costs over greater numbers of people served.

In order to develop this kind of complex fluidly, all black colleges must be organized into a voluntary association whose purpose would be to establish strategies for the initial seizure of control over public institutions and the organizational arrangement most suitable for the type complex I have described at the operating level.

The model which I have described with the four colleges in the Memphis area do not constitute the most feasible procedure necessarily. It merely describes the area which I am most knowledgeable of educationally, socially, and politically.

²⁷"Mrs. Chisholm Urges Campus Substitute," New York Times, April 9, 1972.

This complex can only be achieved if black people reorganize it as necessary for our survival to the point where it becomes a political issue.

Contrary to the insistence of the foundations, planning groups, and administrations who view merger as the solution for ending the losing battle which black colleges are waging for "able" black students and faculty,²⁸ the growth potential for these institutions resides within the ranks of students characterized as deficient and faculty who are talented but without standard credentials. To suggest this direction for black colleges is to tackle head on the escalating necessity for mass higher education credentials, which work most emphatically against black and other minority people.

Black colleges and universities find themselves at a point where they are required to rethink their traditional role in American society. Without question, they have served a community which in the past could be served nowhere else. What they must query now is the false question of whether their role is to foster the vertical or the horizontal development of black people. They have been able to avert grappling with this issue until the present. Only the political insistence of this nation's black population can force the issue.

²⁸ Carnegie Commission Report, From Isolation to Mainstream, (New York, 1971), p. 61.

People ought to be talking about the black colleges the way they've begun to address the problem of drugs in our communities. If we don't, there may be a new motion picture called, "Whatever Happened to Black Colleges." This is not to suggest that the 105 black colleges under consideration provide anything like the kind of educational service which they must develop in order to maximize the power of black people. They stand indicted for failing to provide that. However, they exist as ready potential for that kind of development.

State legislatures should be confronted by black statewide power groups interested in black control of black colleges along the lines which I am attempting to describe. The very basis for black education then becomes the political reality of power, and, as well, that of institution building.

Should said legislatures be unwilling to transfer control of those land grant institutions, then an issue easy to organize around is handed to our many diverse communities which, if lost, should guarantee more control over education education than we currently have.

This strategy serves to challenge the philosophy and structure of American education. Philosophically, it commences by questioning the purpose of education in a society, which is the question which educational reformers and radicals have been dealing with since Rousseau. Structurally, it challenges existing control apparatus, first by refuting traditional educational purpose, and then subjugating the new organizational systems to the will of the people who must direct these resources as tools toward self-determination.

It may be that consolidating control over black educational institutions falls short of developing a pedagogy for black liberation. But there can be no question that such a plan initiated by black people would turn education upside down.

In part, control of black education is an attempt to turn back the clock to the period following emancipation when, according to Carter G. Woodson's thesis, "...we missed the mark."²⁹ What is sought by such control is not simply educational redirection, but time to organize an agenda for black development which does not depend on fickle organized labor, or business, or welfare oriented government.

I am not suggesting "social uplift" at the expense of "actual education."³⁰ However, I do recognize that control without a well developed educational philosophy could serve to duplicate past failures in black education and development.

We have no choice but to attempt this type of educational change because the time for standard educational legitimacy is spent. We lose too many of the all too few black students who enter black and white colleges as they are currently structured to insure our survival, let alone our development.

²⁹ Carter G. Woodson, Miseducation of the Negro, (Washington, D. C., 1933, 1969), pp. 9-25.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 17.

To ask for an educational philosophy which predicts all possible problems is demanding the utopian. To move in terms of action toward solving both existent and perceived educational problems is pedagogic. I am proposing a strategy of such a pedagogy.

C H A P T E R I V

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The recent publication of three reports: the Outline Report of the President's Working Group on Counseling, Advising, and Support Services, the Response of the Minority Members of the Working Group, and a subsequent Restatement of Recommendations, all of which were submitted to the University of Massachusetts Board of Trustees Committee on Student Activities by Dr. Robert W. Gage (Chairman of the President's Working Group and Acting Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs), indicate that paramount among the critical issues facing higher education and, indeed, American society in general, is the extension of access to new elements of the population. It would appear that the societal commitment to the value of education and the necessity for educational universality should issue no alarm in higher education. These papers, and countless others like them, illustrate that there has not been systematic or coherent effort at the institutional level to fully assess (even) the circumstances in which the minority student finds himself at the University or in ways in which the University responds to his needs.¹ We are, therefore, confined in our analysis of this issue to pay as much or more attention to the peculiarity of the associated circumstances as we are to the issue itself.

¹Robert W. Gage et al., "The Outline Report of the Working Group on Counseling, Advising, and Support Services," submitted to the University of Massachusetts Board of Trustees Committee on Student Activities, (December, 1971), p. A-2.

To view this dilemma in higher education is to trace the history of American society. The failure to implement systematic or coherent institutional efforts toward resolving social inequity in no way suggests the lack of capacity to overcome a physical impediment but rather luminesces the unwillingness of society to erase its own historical enigma. We may refer to recorded history. It implies purposeful confusion as a mechanism for maintaining the image of human impotence. Still further, it camouflages the very structural basis of American institutional education which is the continuation of the historical exploitation and oppression of the native American, African, and the Asian, now conveniently termed "minorities" or "disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived." Western technology was not decisive in the conquest of either peoples. It is this imperative which Paulo Freire exposes in his description of "the narrative" or "banking concept of education" which are basic to institutional education.

"In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing. Projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as processes of inquiry. The teacher presents himself to his students as the necessary opposite; by considering their ignorance absolute, he justifies his own existence. The students, alienated like the slave in the Hegelian dialectic, accept their ignorance as justifying the teacher's existence - but, unlike the slave, they never discover that they educate the teacher."²

² Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, translated by Myra Bergman Ramos, Herder and Herder, (New York, 1970), pp. 58-59.

We, then, find ourselves the recipients of the distorted account of our domination and with the glorification of meager victories which are devised to magnify our defeats. How easily one could come to see his salvation in his antithesis, thus internalizing his own inadequacy as his "ignorance." Such is the historical context within which black people reside -- at once the victim of oppression and as well as the potential for rectification of that oppression.

The description of black educational control goes further than the mere inclusion of insignificant numbers of black and other minority students in institutions of higher education fulfilling the American Dream. It demands the transfer of institutional control from intransigent legislatures, professional associations, traditional administrators, faculty, and economic interests to those untarnished by the necessity to maintain static traditionalism. What higher education would have in return for this generous expansion is the investment of new energy into the bankrupt processes which it presently fosters. It seeks to entice the dispossessed into forfeiture of their moral sanctity through educational complicity with the "dominant elite." Black people in higher education would be responsible for reforming or reorganizing the institution of education such that it appears less obtrusive as a tool in their own oppression.

"For the dominant elite, organization means organizing themselves...the dominant elite increasingly structures its power so that it

can more efficiently dominate and depersonalize 3
 ..."

This manipulation, described in the preceeding chapters, need not go unchallenged because oppressed people - and black people are oppressed - always have the option of refusing to be host to that oppression in the Freireian dialectic. Their statement must, however, be made in a forthright manner, not in an exposing sense because to do so would simply provoke open repression from the oppressor. At all stages, however of their liberation, black people must see themselves as men engaged in the "ontological and historical vocation of becoming more fully human."⁴

In short, black educational control demands more than the inclusion of those black people to homogeneous campuses in order to spice up a bland dish. It is, moreover, the net result of an infusion of minority people into control levels of the educational process, mandating change in the role of the institution, change in the curriculum and academic activity, and contiguous with all, societal change in the dedication of education toward emphasis upon human development. They must be a people actively pursuing their own liberation through the engagement of societal, especially educational, barriers, created to impede the development of an educational philosophy centered around human needs and human survival.

³Ibid., p. 178.

⁴Loc. cit.

In a speech reported in the March 21, 1972, issue of the University of Massachusetts Daily Collegian, organizer Saul Alinsky is quoted as saying, "It is impossible to have change without power."⁵ What he does not point out, however, is that in order for change to constitute an authentic praxis or application, it must become the object of critical reflection. "In this sense, the praxis is the new *raison d'etre* of the oppressed..."⁶

The Gage Report points out that, "...many of the problems encountered by minority students in white higher education are paradigmatic for all students, particularly when we emphasize aspects of alienation, powerlessness, and disenfranchisement."⁷

"It will do no good to talk about innovation, experimentation, or accommodating new students once they enter our institutions until we confront and change the reality of the power dynamics...which currently govern educational institutions."⁸ The question clearly becomes a matter of power - the power wielded by the oppressed in order to end that oppression; the power wielded by black masses to overturn the schematic operatives of institutional education.

⁵Robert Medeiros, "Alinsky Stresses Organization of Middle Class," University of Massachusetts Daily Collegian, March 21, 1972, Vol. XCIX, Issue 113, p. 1.

⁶Freire, op. cit., p. 53

⁷Gage, op. cit., p. A-2.

⁸William Birenbaum, "White Power and American Higher Education," in Minority Student on the Campus; expectations and possibilities, ed. by Robert A. Altman and Patricia O. Snyder, Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, University of California, Berkeley, (1970), p. 23.

With that power organized, black people then legitimately proceed to the state of developing new educational directions. If the possibility for new directions is in fact dependent upon people with new interests and new energies, then higher education and, indeed, education as a social institution must validate the experiences and interests of those people. The statement, *deja vue*, demands the obvious approval of the reader but does not necessitate the other imperatives implied. First, that higher education repudiate a good bit of its current enamorment. And second, that its institutions internalize these new ideals in the form of activity heretofore relegated to the social realm. In simpler terms, it is not enough for intellectuals to condemmm obvious abuse and inequity in society. They must commit the existence of the university to the actual physical solution of society's problems. The worth of human existence can no longer be treated as an intellectual discourse argued in philosophical terms or mmeasured in comparative fashion. It must be engaged as a clinical challenge by technicians immersed in a life-death struggle.

"It would be a contradiction in terms if the oppressor not only defended but actually implemented a liberating education."⁹ History proves that when the interest of oppressed people is their subsequent liberation and when their energies are expended toward the achievement of that goal, institutional education counters by insisting upon repressive procedures. The reality is, however, that the institution's

⁹Freire, *op. cit.* p. 39.

process is that of a "narrating subject (the teacher, administrator, intellectual) and the patient, listening objects (the students)." ¹⁰

It postulates principles which it cannot comply with. When the black people seize this postulated non-reality and believe it into existence, the oppression moves to possess it. By possessing it, the oppressor betrays his real interest which permits a few of the oppressed to witness this contradiction. That contradiction becomes, for those few, the crucial problem which they analyze and from which they possibly create some real praxis or liberating activity.

"For the above reasons, the purely reformist solutions attempted by these societies (even though some of the reforms may frighten and even panic the more reactionary members of the elite groups) do not resolve their external and internal contradictions. Almost always the metropolitan society induces these reformist solutions in response to the demands of the historical process, as a new way of preserving its hegemony. It is as if the metropolitan society were saying: 'Let us carry out reforms before the people carry out a revolution.' And in order to achieve this goal, the metropolitan society has no options other than conquest, manipulation, economic and cultural (and sometimes military) invasion of the dependent society - an invasion in which the elite leaders of the dominate society to a large extent act as mere brokers for the leaders of the metropolitan society." ¹¹

The irony of the black educational crisis is that those most brutalized by it are seeking stability through imitation while those responsible for the brutality go on record as the initiators of remedies

¹⁰Ibid., p. 57.

¹¹Ibid., p. 85.

for that brutality.

"The starting point for organizing the program content of education or political action must be the present, existential, concrete situation, reflecting the aspirations of the people. Utilizing certain basic contradictions, we must pose this existential, concrete, present situation to the people as a problem which challenges them and requires a response - not just at the intellectual level, but at the level of action."¹²

New populations, caught between the burden of tackling the major tool of oppression - institutional education - and the more awesome obstacle of concretizing abstract societal contradictions, find no difficulty in assaulting verbally the racist nature of institutional anything in American society. Dropouts and incompetents are testimony to the oppressive nature of our schools. But our engagement in the erection of a new educational plan fails to get past the question of motivation. Our intellectual discourse perennially involves "our will to survive" rather than our actual survival or real situation. More often than not, existent programs for minority students place more emphasis on motivational problems than on situational dialogue - any dialogue - or they simply discourse about our present situation.

"We must never merely discourse on the present situation, must never provide the people with programs which have little or nothing to do with their own preoccupations, doubts, hopes and fears - programs which at times in fact increase the fears of the oppressed consciousness. It is not our role to speak to the people about our own view of the world, nor to attempt to impose that view on them, but rather to dialogue with the people about their

¹²Loc. cit.

view and ours. We must realize that their view of the world, manifested variously in their action, reflects their situation in the world. Educational and political action which is not critically aware of this situation runs the risk either of "banking" or of preaching in the desert." 13

"Educational and political action," which can in no way be separated for any student or people, is dynamic. There is no place for repetition because both identify and attack existing situations and demand political resolution. Real educational and political action grow with the identification and resolution of each situation. The declaration of "Black Power" as a goal which began to identify the nature of a present, existential, concrete situation was educational and political action, though now transformed into less educative and vocal resolution than in the second half of the 1960's. The language has now changed so as not to become rhetorical and thus alienating to those for whose liberation it was intended.

"Often, educators and politicians speak and are not understood because their language is not attuned to the concrete situation of the men they address. Accordingly, their talk is just alienated and alienating rhetoric. The language of the educator or the politician (and it seems more and more clear that the latter must also become an educator, in the broadest sense of the word), like the language of the people, cannot exist without thought; and neither language nor thought can exist without a structure to which they refer. In order to communicate effectively, educator and politician must understand the structural conditions in which the thought and language of the people are dialectically framed." 14

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Loc. cit.

This notion of educational pedagogy may sound overly esoteric for providing the structure necessary for institution development which is compatible with the demand for technical competence. The case is, however, that pedagogy must insist upon using "the oppressed as their own example in the struggle for their redemption."¹⁵ There can be no special space between oppressed black people and the mechanisms which they choose to engage in their liberation. Sciencism as a notion of expertise is not compatible with authentic revolution. "The thematics which have come from the people return to them - not as contents to be deposited but as problems to be solved."¹⁶ Technology can not be overlooked in the development of a people moving toward self-determination. But it can become emphasized within the problem-solving educational pedagogy which Freire describes. The example is China which has proceeded in revolution within the imperative for technological immersion.

The present oppressive educational establishment devotes inordinate resources to the exploitation of social problems at this very moment, such as crime, pollution, or population zero, or urban decay. "By substituting institutional for human needs, we have invented a way to insure the integrity and standards of our institutions, as the majority defines those standards."¹⁷ It recognizes these problems as serious

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 116.

¹⁷ Birenbaum, op. cit., p. 6.

problems, but is sufficiently comfortable with narrating either the extreme of technical impotence or of technical conquest.

The obvious impediment to institutional role change is the political relationship of the intellectual (the intellectuals in this case are the few real scholars who exist and the mass of people responsible for teaching and administering and academic activity) to the holders of kinetic power in American society. Institutions tend to resist actual change because new roles threaten even the most innovative minds. Thus, institutions and intellectuals will attempt to expose new populations to contemporary roles in order to stave off, if not negate, actual change. Counseling in higher education generally operates to that end. A student has a real educational problem which, in all probability, is the extension of a societal problem. The counselor seeks to minimize the effect of the real problem by making the student functional in the educational environment, for which he must be condemned. Because of his insentiveness, the counselor must share the blame in employing such methodology. The net effect is that the student develops a tolerance for the larger problem. The institution charged with preparing him to survive has only fulfilled half of its actual charge. It has taught the student how to survive this situation (an intolerable situation) but it has not freed him or her up to creatively change the objective conditions to a point that engender survival and adjustment. The student is still handicapped, for his adjustment has not propelled him into the transformation process.

This failure becomes significant because it removes the option of human development from the repertoire of future possibilities for the student. He is nurtured on the notion of compromise and thus taught out of the possibility for right and wrong action. There is no real difference between the conditions requisite for success in education than the use of methadone in the treatment of heroin addiction. Dependence on the existence of failure is not only the problem, but the cause of institutional intransigence.

Let us look again at higher education. What is the role of the University? Once we wade through the advertisement of college catalogues and that of our supposedly "fulfilled and enlightened" intellectuals, we note that the university is the ground on which we certify people for society's most rewarding activities. Those selected to go through this process successfully should be able to fit neatly into society's machinery. Understanding the societal role of higher education, our method opts either to reverse the procedure such that higher education does not perform de facto certification or that it provides real services for the 'people' rather than serving the institutional need for self-perpetuating certification.

It would see, then, that the appearance of black students would be one step in the direction of the latter. The effect, however, is illusory because it merely serves to create a bastard product from the energy of black students and the adulterous impotence of existing institutions.

At this point, we are brought to the reality of power in the institution. William Birenbaum writes:

"He who possesses the key to the gate represents the authority in the system. Those of you who are entering institutions thinking you can be experimental are fooling yourselves. You'll find out very soon that the first thing that happens to you when you enter a college or university to experiment with your ethnic studies or your black studies programs is that you have crossed the campus line, you have entered the gate. There is a gate-keeper. There is a key. And your experiment will be conducted within the terms of his authority as it is delineated for you." 18

The reality of the illusion is brutally cold. Black people can easily be caught in the trick of authenticity, like it or not. They may be undone by choosing the educational arena for battle. The means by which the majority's standards are maintained are "intimately related to the very concept of the college 'campus' which characterizes American higher education."¹⁹ Thus, it is possible to conclude that the limitation of the time-space campus concept must be confronted as monopolistic and exploitative.

Birenbaum, viewing the campus as an intricate rigid grid, goes on to point out real targets for confrontation:

"My own experience indicates to me that the most vital point of attack upon this grid is the monopoly condition of the gate-keeper, and the singularity of the one entry and exit, namely, the gate...It is true that you can tamper with the inside of the grid,

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 6.

making some little changes here and there...But the major assault must be on the perimeter. And it's on this perimeter that the real battle now is waged with state legislatures, boards of trustees, and academic traditionalists, including the "liberals."...The new programs which are emerging and the new students wanting to come in present us all with a real challenge to blast the "ghetto" and to destroy its monopoly on higher learning." 20

The course of action outlined, power remains the objective. Power already exists in the relationship of people to the issue of their own survival, but it must assume prefatory legitimacy through institutional exercise. Popular mandate must be accompanied by decisive conquest over procedural legitimacy, traditional and liberal.

Power, in addition, must be viewed as three dimensional: source, actuality, and priority.

"...power anticipates and encompasses that of priorities. And, thus, once we embark upon a serious program of redistributing power in the educational community, we also have embarked upon a serious program of reassessing our priorities." 21

Priorities become crucial if retrenchment is to be staved off. New populations must insist upon consistently meeting the priorities set upon the assumption of power in order to achieve a meaningful pedagogy.

²⁰Ibid., p. 15.

²¹Harry Edwards, "Questions of Power and Priorities," in Minority Student on the Campus, op. cit., p. 101.

The new black educational institution must provide a new style institutional interface which integrates the former confining campus with the lives, resources, and problems of the people served. A number of colleges, black and white, have applied to some extent the "cooperative" college program/model which allows the student to work at the task for which he is being trained. The concept, however, limits the role of the institution and thus education to career preparation - the role which higher education already plays.

"...there must be the recognition that the formal education process, to become relevant for all people, must go on inside and outside of the classroom. The formal educational experience must encourage people of all colors and classes to acquire the skills needed to humanize their own existence and to protect their right to be whom they need to be. To fail to educate for self-liberation and freedom for all people is merely to turn people, especially minority-group people, against each other and to gradualize their destruction." 22

Black people must take great care not to invest their potential in normalizing present educational policy. That possibility could easily result should "accommodation" become the major thrust of segments of the new population naive enough to forfeit "the continuing transformation of reality and the continuing humanization of man."²³

²²Ibid., p. 216.

²³Freire, op. cit. p. 82.

Control of education has, as its frosting, modern liberal social policy, which holds as its fundamental tenet that social class difference, clutures of poverty and affluence, and inequalities of opportunity can gradually be reduced and eliminated through "progressive social welfare measures." The assumption which underlies liberal social policy "emphasizes that social classes sort themselves out on the basis of innate individual capacity to cope successfully in the social environment, and hence, tend to reproduce themselves from generation to generation."²⁴

The incongruency between tenet and assumption reveal something of the operational mechanism of educational control. It is the unexplained incongruency which dictates the failure of progressive programs such that control policy addresses the issue, no matter how tangentially, but always seeks a mistaken if not impossible end. And so we have the modern liberal approach which, through its racism, attributes social class differences to "unequal opportunity" and to "cultural deprivation." Bowles and Gintis offer this description:

"...while the criteria for economic success are objective and achievement-oriented, the failures and successes of parents are passed onto their children via distinct learning and cultural environments." 25

²⁴Bowles and Gintis, op. cit., p. 8.

²⁵Bowles and Gintis, op. cit., p. 8.

The net effect is the creation of social policy which insists that a more equal society can be achieved if black and minority youth are merely afforded the same educational and other social conditions of the best and more successful. The code words of this policy are 'integrated education,' 'compensatory education,' 'quality education,' and 'cultural enrichment.' Quite clearly, blacks and other minorities know less about these "educational and other social conditions because it is the implicit in the policy that intelligence differences (even) among whites of differing social class background are significantly rooted in differences in genetic endowment. (Appendix describes the philosophical consequences of such policy.)

In conclusion, several points must be underscored. The first is that access, the role of education, and institutional control are the issues confronting black people in higher education. In order to address them intelligently, black people must establish firm control over the educational institutions which purportedly serve them.

The most immediate threat to black educational control is the integration of the traditional black colleges. Their closing, a redefinition of their mission, and an eventual white takeover of their student bodies represents a reduction in black control over education, and typifies an equivalent reduction in overall black political influence. Black colleges are, in effect, being threatened in the same manner that small businesses throughout the country have been threatened by the giant corporations while government watches idly or, as in this

case, participates enthusiastically. Black colleges face obliteration if compliance with white dominated educational policy continues.

Many black colleges had developed into political sanctuaries for black people since their origin. They developed as the natural response of black people to white exploitation and oppression. Black campus sanctuaries have been and will continue to be attacked by the full weight of national power. Not even the alternative of continued non-assertiveness by black administrators and other so-called leaders cannot preserve black campuses as sanctuaries for the incubation of black youth.

Black colleges received their identity through the politics of a racially limiting South, have endured that racism, and now face dismantling because of it. The threat to black colleges is political and not educational. Meanwhile, the South's public education dollar, once threatened for non-compliance with integration mandates has become increasingly earmarked for white students.

In spite of drastic increases in aid given to black colleges by the federal government, the disbursement of federal funds has not changed significantly from periods of obvious discrimination. (See appendix for a breakdown of federal aid to black colleges.)

Analyzing the amount and categories of monies received by black colleges in comparison to all colleges points out the statistical

record of the lack of black control over educational policy for black people. Across the board, all black colleges receive a disproportionately low share of the federal dollar, including those areas specifically categorized for black students²⁶ - and at lower funding levels which only serve the immediate need rather than addressing the long range problems. For example, a black land grant college in any of the 16 southern states receives less Title IV monies than its white counterpart in the same state.

Why do black colleges receive little funding for:

Training grants of programs for aging

Research

Juvenile Delinquency Prevention and Control

Co-op Research and Demonstration Programs

Training Grants

Research and Training Centers?

If the national statistics regarding black people and crime are accurate, how can black colleges which train virtually half the black college population not be involved? If we look closer, we may, in fact, see some correlation between the career choices available to black students as a result of where federal expenditures are going.

²⁶"Social and Rehabilitation Services," Federal Agencies and Black Colleges, distributed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D. C., 1971, p. 16.

Even in the category "National Endowment for the Arts," black colleges received no appropriations for Jazz programs or Contemporary Music programs, a category widely acknowledged as being derived from black people.

Perhaps the total blame cannot be placed with the federal government but the reality is that if no black college received any appropriation for a particular category there must be some national inhibiting force, undoubtedly like the one that has nationally inhibited voter registration by black people.

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A P P E N D I C E S

APPENDIX A

A CRISIS IN BLACK AND WHITE: 18 YEARS AFTER SUPREME COURT RULING,
QUALITY EDUCATION REMAINS ELUSIVE

"Black teachers," the NEA report said, "are being emasculated and stripped of their standing before their own communities. Teachers with years of experience are being assigned as teacher aides, or assistants to white teachers..."

What the studies, North and South, revealed about blacks in education is their overwhelming sense of powerlessness.

"It is a way to suggest," says Dr. Elias Blake, Jr., president of the Institute for Service to Education, "diminishing role for the colleges which have supported black aspiration for over 100 years. It is also associated with highly restrictive programs in the private sector that will benefit only a small number of these institutions which still produce a majority of the black graduates."

"The drift of all this," contends Blake, "would be to kill off the historical black colleges, thereby making all higher education of black youth dependent upon predominantly white institutions in which the problems of control and influence are enormous."

From BLACK ENTERPRISE, September, 1972, p. 24, 25, 25, 55.

The Black Middle Class

Atlanta, Georgia, which has long pioneered new styles in racial politics, may once more be giving a preview of the future direction of race relations. Local black leaders have drawn up a proposal that would end a 15-year-old school desegregation controversy by largely accepting the status quo. Most of the city's 21,000 white students would continue to attend largely white schools, and most of the 75,000 black students would remain in largely black schools. In return for accepting a minimum of busing, blacks would receive half of the important positions in the white-dominated school administration.

Several explanations have been given for black support of the compromise. Local leaders were loath to endanger Atlanta's economic prosperity by driving white families to the suburbs. Black parents had begun to doubt that integration by itself guaranteed high-quality education. Blacks have complained that busing proposals would transfer their children to an inferior white school. But the most important factor, according to several accounts, was the desire of the black middle class, a large and influential group, to bring an end to racial turmoil.

It is only in the last decade that an increasing number of blacks across the nation—some demographers say slightly more than 50%—have entered the middle class. If the Atlanta compromise is any guide, these people, like middle class whites, may be more concerned than the less affluent with security, the health and education of their families and the good life in general. They would be much less interested in the symbolic politics of the 1960s and much more concerned with policies that produce results.

The emergence of this class might undercut black militancy in more subtle ways as well. Much of the black rhetoric and indignation of the 1960s was turned against the old black bourgeoisie as much as against the whites. As William Raspberry, the black columnist for *The Washington Post*, puts it, the Negro upper classes of a decade or two ago believed that their racial progress was being held back by the deadweight of the Negro poor, and tried to get as far away from them as

possible. This attitude aroused such scorn among younger militants, many of them sons and daughters of this very class, that middle-class values themselves became unfashionable. One consequence of this mood was a concentration on the problems of the inner-city slums, almost to the point that the attitudes of the black middle class, even the existence of this class, were ignored.

The problems of poorer blacks certainly merit extensive attention. If the poorest among us can't make it, goes the argument, then none of us have made it. Andrew F. Brimmer of the Federal Reserve Board reports that income is distributed less equally among blacks as a group than among whites. If black militants had indeed been able to improve the lot of their impoverished constituency, then we could easily forgive the excesses of their rhetoric. But there is little evidence they have made progress against the tangle of problems afflicting black welfare families.

As responsible and sensible black leaders concealed their misgivings, for fear of breaking the united front, demagogues and hustlers sometimes monopolized national attention. Many of the widely publicized "spokesmen" who emerged after the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King seem in perspective to have been quite marginal figures. It would be hard to list their accomplishments.

The black community, and the nation as a whole, may benefit if the Atlanta compromise does foreshadow the increased self-confidence and assertiveness of the black middle class. We would admit, surely, that a great deal needs to be done for the black welfare class, although no one seems quite to know what. But the steady progress of the black middle class is also an important national goal, and the means to encourage it are if anything more readily available, more reliable and much less controversial. This group has a serious and constructive role to play in our national life. We expect it will demand and receive a greater voice in shaping the policies that affect the black community. The Atlanta example suggests that its influence could reduce unproductive turmoil and redirect national sights toward solid racial achievements.

APPENDIX C

..."Herrnstein celebrates the genetic school's crowning achievement by turning liberal social policy directly against itself, noting that the heritability of intelligence and hence the increasing pervasiveness of social stratification will increase, the more "progressive" our social policies: "the growth of a virtually hereditary meritocracy will arise out of the successful realization of contemporary political and social goals...as the environment becomes more favorable for the development of intelligence, its heritability will increase..." (Herrnstein, 1971, p. 63) Similarly, the more we break down discriminatory and ascriptive criteria for hiring, the stronger will become the link between IQ and occupational success, and the development of modern technology can only quicken the process. (Herrnstein, 1971, p. 63)

From IQ and U.S. Social Class, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Harvard University, (Cambridge, July, 1972).

APPENDIX D

The following articles from the July 12, 1973, issue of JET Magazine carry the full spectrum of educational options open to black people: pending death for black colleges, token recognition, window-dressing control, and the continued use of integration as a tool for reducing black educational authenticity.

LOUISIANA COLLEGE MERGER WILL CLOSE BLACK SCHOOLS

The governor of Louisiana predicted recently that if the U. S. Supreme Court forces a merger of Louisiana State University and predominantly Black Southern University, it would be the ultimate closure of the Black school.

Governor Edwin Edwards termed the college integration plan ordered by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare as being "an illogical, irrational decision" that will result in the "Ultimate closure of the two Black universities." (Southern has campuses in Baton Rouge and New Orleans.)

"The point that I made is rather than have it happen by decimating the universities and the gradual erosion of the effectiveness of the universities, it would be better to close them (the Black schools), if that's what they're so hell bent on doing, so to speak."

The "they" that Edwards referred to was apparently the NAACP, the organization which has demanded the desegregation of the Louisiana colleges.

BLACK LIBRARY IN NEW YORK AWARDED \$250,000 BY STATE

New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller recently signed into law a bill that will make \$250,000 available to the Schomburg Collection in New York City.

The collection, located in the Countee Cullen branch of the New York City Public Library in Harlem, is nationally-known as a source of Afro-American history.

FIRST BLACK ATLANTA SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT IS ELECTED

The first Black superintendent of Atlanta's 9,200-student school system has been selected by the Atlanta Board of Education.

Dr. Alonzo Crim, 45, who presently is superintendent of schools in Compton, California, will begin a four-year term as Atlanta's superintendent in August.

The Atlanta school system is 79 percent Black and there are presently three Blacks on the 10-member school Board. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, retired president of Morehouse College, is president of the board.

A Black superintendent was among the stipulations in a compromise segregation agreement between the school board and the NAACP that was approved by a federal district court.

Crim received his master's degree from the University of Chicago and a doctorate from Harvard University.

Formerly the principal of several public schools in Chicago, Crim has served as superintendent of District 27 in Chicago; superintendent of

the Compton Union High School District, and presently serves as superintendent of Compton Unified District.

"I am delighted to have the chance to serve," Crim told JET following his selection to the position. "Atlanta has great resources... that we don't have here in Compton. Atlanta's is an innovative school system, but it could stand improvement."

APPENDIX E

CENSUS STUDY SHOWS EDUCATION OF PARENTS

A majority of college students come from homes in which the head of the family did not go to college, according to a report issued this week by the Bureau of the Census. The Bureau said 61 percent of those enrolled in college in October 1970 came from families in which the family head completed at most a high school education. The survey states that only 24 percent came from families in which the head had finished college.

For Negroes, 74 percent of college students came from homes in which the family head had not gone to college, including 54 percent in which the family head had not completed high school.

The bureau said Negro college enrollment increased 123 percent between 1964 and 1970 "so that 15 percent of all 18 to 24-year-old Negroes were in college at the time of the 1970 survey."

College attendance, the bureau said, was closely related to family income. Only 14 percent of the college age family members were enrolled when family income was less than \$3,000. The percentages for other income brackets: \$3,000 to \$9,999 - 30 percent; \$10,000 to \$14,999 - 46 percent; and \$15,000 or more - 60 percent.

From: HIGHER EDUCATION AND NATIONAL AFFAIRS, Vol. XX, No. 26, American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.; p. 12.

